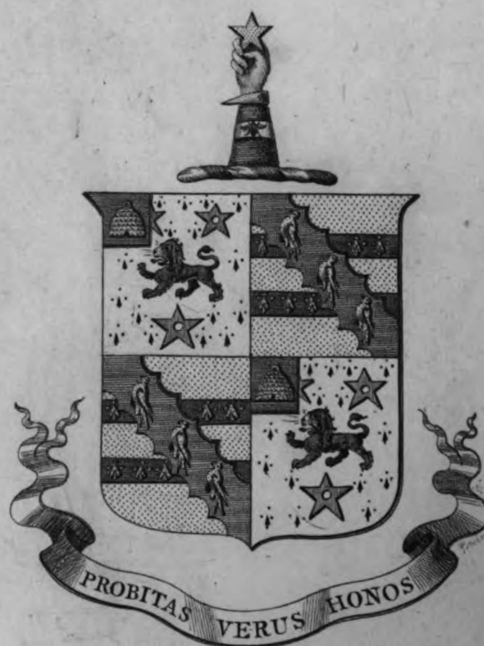


28



James Hansard.





CREESHNA trampling on the HEAD of the crushed SERPENT.

PLATE VIII.



a Corruption of the Grand primæval Tradition, preserved in India.

To his Grace John, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, this wonderful additional Testimony to the Mosaic Records, is with true respect and gratitude, inscribed by T. M.

THE

HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN,

ITS

ARTS, AND ITS SCIENCES,

AS CONNECTED WITH

THE HISTORY OF THE OTHER GREAT EMPIRES OF ASIA,

DURING THE MOST ANCIENT PERIODS OF THE WORLD.

WITH

NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIVE ENGRAVINGS.

BY THE Thomas Maurice

AUTHOR OF INDIAN ANTIQUITIES.

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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M.DCCC.XX.

PREFACE.

FAITHFUL, throughout, to the hypothesis on which, under the sanction of the highest Oriental authority possible, it originally commenced, the History of Ancient India and of the Avatars has at length proceeded to its conclusion. Sir William Jones afforded the clue which has directed my path through this dark and intricate labyrinth. I have cautiously adhered to the outline which his pencil drew, and have in no instance deviated from my honoured guide. I am aware that there are Indian scholars of great respect and ability who widely differ in opinion from him on some of the topics discussed in this and the former volumes; but, till these gentlemen oblige us with (what, however, will not easily be found) a *better hypothesis*, one more consistent with the general history of the ancient world, as detailed in profane records, one more reconcileable

to the common sense and reason of mankind, and one more consonant to the national code of faith, I hope they will excuse me for persevering in it. It would have been a great honour to me to have been favoured with their approbation and support; it would also have been materially to my interest, as I should then, probably, have had the benefit of their advice in other respects. Deprived of that advantage, and writing also under the pressure of other nameless difficulties, I have, I trust, a claim proportionably strong on the candour of the public in their perusal of this volume.

In the preface to the former volume, I cursorily mentioned Mr. Volney's impious attempt to mythologize away the whole of the Christian system, by insisting that the history and miracles of Christ were borrowed from those of the Indian Creeshna. According to that hypothesis, the holy Offspring of the Virgin means only the solar orb rising in the sign Virgo, the *twelve* Apostles are the *twelve* zodiacal asterisms, while the very name Jesus is as impiously traced to YES, *the ancient cabalistical name of young Bacchus.* Thus is the truth of history insulted, and the corroborating testimony of ages set aside, for the laudable purpose of plunging Christian Europe into all the horrors of atheistical France. Those who duly consider how intimately the established governments and the legal codes of Europe,

and especially the jurisdiction of these kingdoms, are connected with the Christian code, will not be at a loss to see the drift and purport of arguments of this kind. In truth, they are as inseparably connected as the soul is with the body, and they must *stand* or *fall* together. The reader, therefore, will not be offended, if he find the Avatar of Creeshna, which has in great part given birth to these blasphemies, engross nearly a fourth part of the present volume, since it was a subject of too deep importance to Britons, both individually and nationally, to be slightly or rapidly passed over. In the two introductory chapters to that Life, I have endeavoured fully to investigate the matter, and to trace the error to its true source; to prove whence originally sprang the Idea of an Avatar, or *descent of Deity* in a human form, and by what means it has happened that many of the events in the life of Christ and Creeshna so nearly resemble each other. It became the more necessary to enter at length into this momentous question, because, since that volume was published, Mr. Dupuis' long-threatened work, the baleful fountain from which Mr. Volney's was only a rivulet, has made its appearance; a work composed with the declared intention of subverting Christianity, and re-erecting paganism on its ruins. Thus assailed by apostatizing Christians on the one hand, and by paganizing Jews

on the other; for, the Jews themselves, if we may judge by some very recent productions of the learned of their nation, seem determined to aid the foe, at this critical juncture, by attacks peculiarly daring and inveterate, (a conduct by no means either *grateful*, *decent*, or *prudent;*) it becomes the indispensable duty of every member of the Christian community, as he values the civil and religious rites or the independence of his country, to stand decidedly forward in its support. I have endeavoured to do *my* duty on this momentous occasion, and, whatever may be the sentiments and conduct of my cotemporaries, when the storms that at present hang over Europe shall have been dispersed, and peace and order be restored, *posterity will thank me.*

With respect to that wonderful composition, the Life of Creeshna itself, the reader will be pleased to peruse it with that degree of candour to which a work not originally intended for publication, is entitled. It is a faithful, though rapid, translation by Mr. Halhed from a Persian manuscript, now deposited, together with the translation itself, in the British Museum; it was done for his own private gratification before that gentleman's final, and ever to be lamented, desertion of the Indian Muses. I have not presumed to alter it farther than to blot out some parts which, however agreeable to a high-seasoned Oriental palate, appeared

to me to glow with colours and images not sufficiently chaste for an European eye. I should have erased more, but it was necessary that the reader should judge for himself concerning this motley character, which has been so impiously paralleled with that of the Christian Messiah. In fact, any more extended erasure would have materially altered the portrait. The reader must see Creeshna as he *is*, to judge of him properly; he must contemplate him with all the puerility and licentiousness, as well as with all the virtue and dignity, attached to his Avatar. I never intended to do the work of the adversary, by making Creeshna a *perfect model of an incarnate Deity*. It has cost me immense labour to prepare it in this manner, for the public eye, from a voluminous manuscript which, though the production of an able pen, was by no means sufficiently correct for that eye: many parts still remain obscure, and many Sanscreet words are still unexplained; yet, imperfect as it is, the public will doubtless think themselves obliged to me for the production of it, and know how to set a proper value upon so curious and estimable a relic of ancient Indian literature, especially when considered in its connection with other points of unspeakable interest and importance to society.

It was my anxious wish to have brought down the Ancient History of India to the period at which it pro-

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HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN

SANSCREET AND CLASSICAL.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

PART THE FIRST.

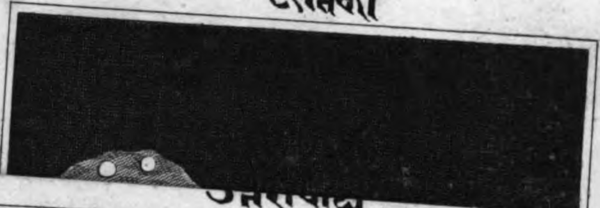
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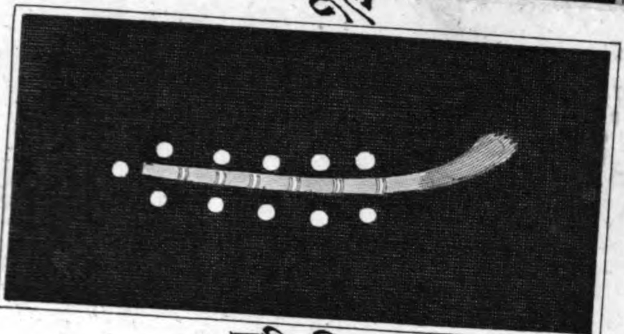


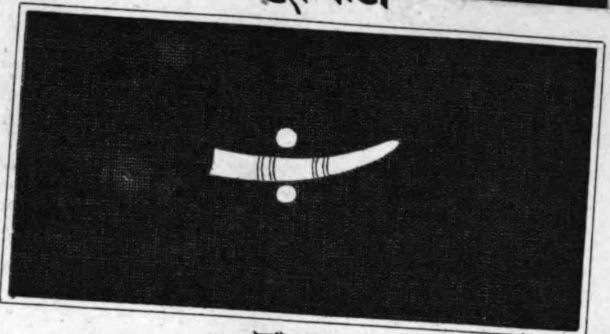
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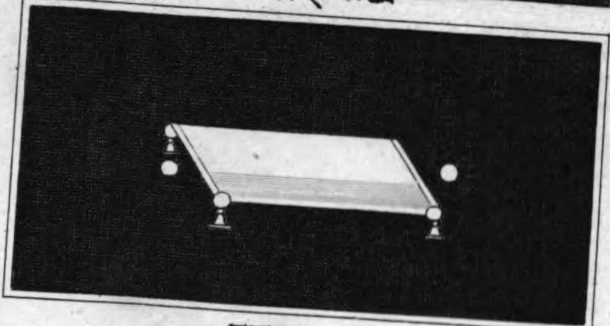


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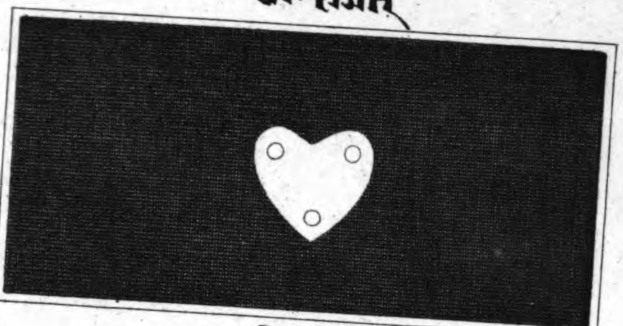




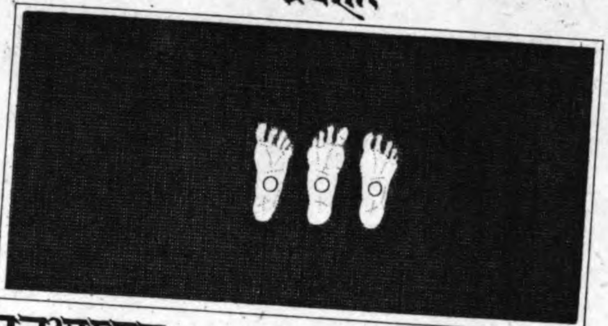




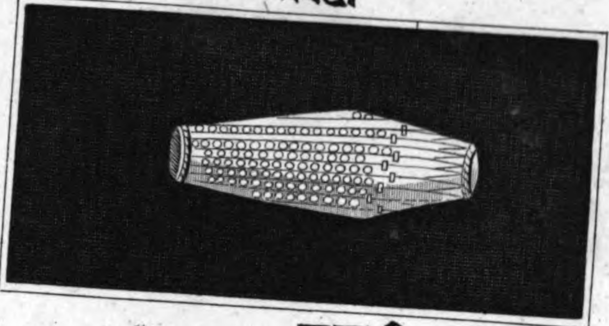
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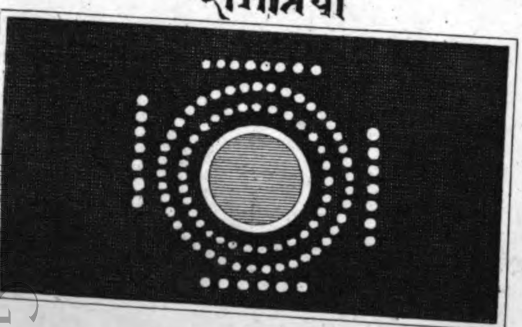
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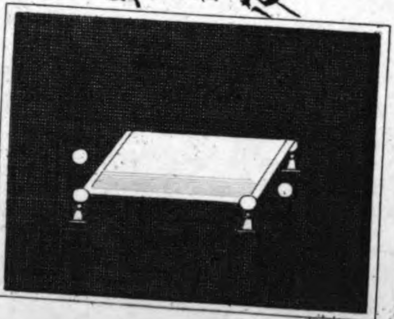
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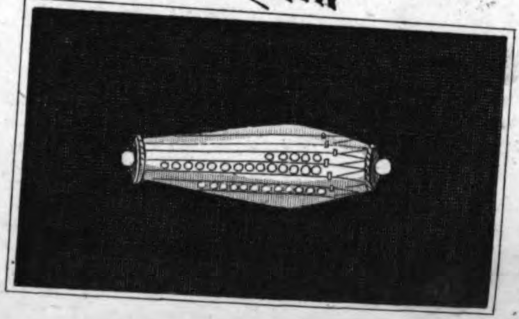
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To the most Noble John James, Marquis of Abercorn, this curious & valuable Fragment of Oriental Astronomical Science, is respectfully and gratefully inscribed by

HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

The Fourth Incarnation of Veeshnu in the form of NARA-SING, *or the* MAN-LION, *bursting from a marble Pillar to destroy a blaspheming Monarch; supposed to allude to the Catastrophe at* BABEL.

I CANNOT commence this second volume of the History of Antient India more properly than by presenting the reader with the following historical display, in Sanscreet poetry, of the ten Avatars or divine descents; in which he will have a connected view of the whole, and of the principal events meant to be recorded in each of those ingenious allegories.

ODE

OF JAYADEVA, THE SUBLIME LYRIC POET OF INDIA, IN HONOUR OF VEESHNU, IN HIS TEN GRAND INCARNATIONS.

1. Thou recoverest the Veda in the water of the ocean of destruction, placing it joyfully in the bosom of an ark fabricated by thee, O CESAVA, assuming the body of a fish: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

2. The earth, placed on the point of thy tusk, remains fixed like the figure of a black antelope on the moon, O CESAVA, as-

suming the form of a boar: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

3. The earth stands firm on thy immensely broad back, which grows larger from the callus occasioned by bearing that vast burthen, O CESAVA, assuming the body of a tortoise: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

4. The claw with a stupendous point on the exquisite lotos of thy lion's paw, is the black bee that stung the body of the embowelled HIRANYACASIPU, O CESAVA, assuming the form of a man-lion: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

5. By thy power thou beguilest BALI, O thou miraculous dwarf, thou purifier of men with the water (of Ganga) springing from thy feet, O CESAVA, assuming the form of a dwarf: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

6. Thou bathest in pure water, consisting of the blood of Cshatriya's, the world, whose offences are removed, and who are relieved from the pain of other births, O CESAVA, assuming the form of PARASU-RAMA: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

7. With ease to thyself, with delight to the genii of the eight regions, thou scatterest on all sides in the plain of combat the demon with ten heads, O CESAVA, assuming the form of RAMA-CHANDRA: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

8. Thou wearest on thy bright body a mantle shining like a blue cloud, or like the water of Yamana tripping towards thee through fear of thy furrowing ploughshare, O CESAVA, assuming the form of CREESHNA: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

9. Thou blamest (oh! wonderful power!) the whole Veda, when thou seest, O kind-hearted! the slaughter of cattle prescribed for sacrifice, O CESAVA, assuming the body of BUDDHA: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

10. For the destruction of all the impure, thou drawest thy cimeter, blazing like a comet, (how tremendous!) O CESAVA, assuming the body of CALCI: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!*

PREVIOUSLY to our entering on the history of the seven remaining Avatars, it is necessary we should attend to the sacred bark safely piloted, amidst the raging waters, by the guiding horn of the stupendous fish SAPHARI, or the deity incarnate in the Matsya, as detailed in a page† of the former volume, to which, for the sake of connection, the reader is requested to advert. It is of importance that the place of its landing should be discussed, because even some learned and pious Christian writers, contrary to the apparent sense of Scripture, have fixed its appulse to earth, not in the mountains of Mesopotamia, but on the heights of the Indian Caucasus. I shall endeavour, impartially, to state the leading arguments on either side of the question.

The vessel in which the virtuous Indian monarch, SATYAURATA, was preserved, having floated for *a day of Brahma* upon the surface of the watery abyss, or, in other words, to leave the language of fable for that of truth and Scripture, the ark of NOAH having continued upon the bosom of the watery element during a complete year, and the flood having universally subsided, we are informed by the Hebrew Scriptures that it rested upon the mountains of Ararat.

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 120.

† See vol. i. chapter 13.

By Ararat is generally understood Armenia, and the word is thus translated in the Septuagint, and in the Vulgate; but Sir Walter Raleigh* contends, and his opinion has been, in part, adopted by Bishop Patrick†, one of the best commentators on the Old Testament, that, by Ararat, the sacred historian meant that long ridge of mountains extending through Asia, from Armenia, on the west, to the confines of India, on the east, to which the antients gave the general name of Taurus and Caucasus. It will indeed be observed by the reader that the sacred text does not say that the ark rested upon Mount Ararat; but uses the word in the plural number, which, in the opinion of those writers, only implies that it rested upon ONE of the mountains of that vast chain which was distinguished by different appellations in the various countries through which it passed, and which, near its western rise, was known to the inhabitants of antient Syria by that of Ararat. One of the highest authorities in the Christian church, cited by the Bishop, gives a direct sanction to this assertion, that by the mountains of Ararat, whereon the ark rested, are to be understood, not those of Armenia in particular, but the lofty summits of Taurus itself, which, from their great elevation, widely overlook the plains of Ararat. The conjecture, I own, will appear less strained when it is considered how customary it has been for high and extensive ridges of mountains, by whatever name in particular regions denominated, to be distinguished by one general appellation. Thus, in Africa, the immense chain of mountains, extending from the great western ocean as far as Egypt, is called ATLAS; and thus, in South America, the still more stupendous chain running from north to south for above four thousand miles together along the coast of the Pacific Ocean, is called the ANDES.

* See Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, p. 68, edit. London, 1677.

† Consult Bishop Patrick, on Gen. cap. viii. verse iv.

With equal ingenuity and zeal has the great man and able historian above referred to laboured to support this novel hypothesis, which originated with Goropius Becanus*, a fanciful writer at best, that the ark of Noah rested upon some eminence of that mighty chain in a far more eastern latitude than is generally supposed, and even on the confines of India. The opinion, thus taken up by Raleigh, has since been warmly adopted by some very able scholars; and, were not both the general sense of Scripture, and the opinion of the best geographers, decidedly against it, would appear to be irrefragably confirmed by what late discoveries have taught mankind of the rapid advancement in science, and the very early maturity of the arts, as well as of the general civilization and astonishing population, during the remotest periods recorded in history, of the inhabitants of the distant and secluded regions of India and China. Since this subject, which discusses the place of the original settlement of the great patriarch, is by no means one of the least important in the circle of Asiatic antiquities; and since any new light thrown upon it may prove of considerable service in the survey which we are now taking of the first ages of the Indian history; I shall proceed impartially to lay before the reader the principal arguments, which both Raleigh and other respectable writers, since his time, have advanced to establish the position in question.

One of the most plausible arguments in favour of the conjecture is derived from the express declaration of Scripture, that the progeny of Noah journeyed *from the east* towards the plain of Shinaar. Now, had they descended from any mountain in Armenia into the plains of Babylon, they must have travelled from the north, or rather from the north-west; for, such is the situation of the Armenian hills, in respect to these plains; but the mountains of Caucasus, or

* See Goropius Becanus, Indo-Scythia, p. 473.

Paropamisus, lie directly east from Babylon; and in this direction alone could they have been represented as journeying *from the east*. Another argument, urged in support of this position, arises from the absolute and total silence of the Hebrew historian, in the succeeding pages of his history, concerning the future fate and local residence of so important a personage as Noah.

At the advanced period of life which Noah had reached, for he was six hundred years old when the flood took place; it is rather improbable, say the objectors, that *he* should wander far from the spot where the ark rested. It is more reasonable to suppose, that, whatever spirit of curiosity or zeal for migration might animate his posterity, he himself remained in the region which had been in a manner consecrated by the new covenant, which the Almighty had there entered into with man, and by the act of offering up his oblation to the Deity. He might esteem it as the sacred spot assigned him for his future residence by the same Guardian-Providence, which guided thither the ark in which he had been so miraculously saved. Had Noah himself, however, journeyed with his family to Shinaar, or settled in Armenia, Mesopotamia, or in any of the adjacent countries, it has been thought in the highest degree improbable, that the venerable patriarch, who had so large a share in the transactions of the antient world, and so undoubted an interest in the concerns of the new one, that the conspicuous instrument, in the hands of Providence, of preserving the remains of the human race and all the inferior orders of created beings, should be totally neglected or forgotten by Moses, except in the single circumstance of the period in which his death happened. From this silence, a third argument is also deduced, that Noah, with some part of his family, who came out of the ark, was settled at too great a distance to mingle in the transactions, and be noticed in the annals, however concise, of those nations who settled about Shinaar, and to whose

transactions alone, from the dispersion of mankind, Moses professedly devotes his narrative.

A fourth, and not the least forcible, argument is drawn from the utter incredibility that he, who had been appointed the august but neglected prophet, to announce the impending vengeance of God against the pride and impiety of the antediluvian race, and before whose eyes the fatal prophecy had been so recently consummated in the tremendous event of a destroying deluge, would have permitted so immediate and daring a repetition of those crimes as his degenerate posterity exhibited in the erection of the Tower of Babel, or would not have restrained the madness of the attempt by the most vigorous efforts, such as his power, in the capacity of a supreme monarch, and his authority, as the sole father of the renovated race of man, must have enabled him to make. A fifth argument is drawn from the remarkable expression, adopted by Moses, to describe this migration from Ararat; viz. that they *journeyed* towards the plains of Shinaar; an expression, which, Dr. Shuckford observes, evidently denotes both distance of situation and length of time for the performance of that migration. That writer has gone more in detail into the subject than the last-named historian, and has ventured to offer a few additional particulars which are deserving notice. He is of opinion, that seventy years might elapse before one part of the family of Noah separated itself from the other, and he thinks that period sufficient for such an increased population of mankind, according to the great injunction to *increase and multiply and replenish the earth*, as might render a separation necessary. In regard to the distance of situation, he states the space, between the plains of Shinaar and that part of Caucasus where he contends the ark rested, to be about 1200 miles; and, in respect to the length of time in performing the journey, considering the state of the earth so soon after the deluge, the extensive marshes and wide

stagnant lakes, which that deluge must have left, as yet undrained by the labour of man; the impervious woods and thick shrubs which the rank luxuriant soil, in the course of seventy or eighty years, would naturally produce; together with the trackless mountains and wild wastes which they had to traverse; from these circumstances, he deems it reasonable to allow ten or twelve years for its completion. He thinks they set out with no determined view to settle in Shinaar, but pitched their tents as Abraham did in after-ages, and took up their occasional residence in spots remarkable for their beauty, or convenient in point of accommodation, till at length they reached those luxuriant and happy plains, where they finally settled.

The argument, however, which is insisted on as of the greatest weight in the discussion of this point arises from the surprising population and early maturity in arts and sciences, for which antient authors have asserted, and modern writers have demonstrated, the Indians above most other nations were distinguished. The two authors above referred to particularly dwell on the circumstance of those immense armies, which the Indian monarchs, in so few ages after the flood, were able to bring into the field, to oppose the forces of Semiramis; but, as the event itself of that invasion, as given by Diodorus Siculus from Ctesias, is by no means the most authenticated portion of antient history, and since those respectable authors, who admit its possibility, hesitate at believing the numbers assigned by them to the contending armies, I shall not follow their example in dwelling at great length on so disputable a point, especially as the subject will come before us in an historical point of view hereafter.

Far more convincing evidence of the Indians having been one of the most early civilized, as well as the most populous, nations of the globe, at the remotest date to which human annals ascend, is

to be found in two very modern authors, Sir William Jones and Mr. Halhed; the former not at all inclined to favour their romantic claims to antiquity, and the latter a writer too deeply acquainted with the subject of which he treats, to allow the possibility of his being imposed upon or materially mistaken, and of too high a character in the literary and moral world intentionally to impose upon others. Sir William Jones, in the Asiatic Researches, records their most early and intimate acquaintance with metaphysics, ethics, and other abstruse sciences; in which, to arrive at any degree of perfection, there must necessarily be supposed to have been a long course of previous investigation, a progressive improvement in philosophical attainments, and a gradual expansion of the powers of the soul; and *that* in periods when the rest of Asia was immersed in extreme barbarity and ignorance. On these intricate subjects he asserts, that they possess an infinite variety of treatises, of an age far superior to any known writings of the kind in the world; and in those treatises may be found all the profound speculations of the Grecian philosophers; all the refined logical disquisitions of the Peripatetic, and all the sublime morality of the Stoical, school. The truth of the above assertion is exemplified in no one instance more strongly than in the enlarged principles of legislation, upon which their government was founded, and in the profound wisdom exhibited in the admirable and voluminous code of their laws, forming together a grand system of policy, which provides against every probable exigence of civil government, and most possible infringements upon the peace of society by daring and unprincipled individuals; a system that could only have been brought to maturity, after a revolution of many centuries, in which the numerous instances of public and private injury alluded to and redressed, and the points of litigation and controversy particularized and decided, must have occurred; but, withal, a system established in æras of such un-

fathomable antiquity, that, in their ignorance of the real author, it has been attributed to Brahma, a visionary being, or to Menu, who, if he be not Noah, is a being equally imaginary. On this system of jurisprudence, by which I would be understood principally to mean the original code of Brahmin laws contained in the MENUSMRITI, or Institutes remembered from Menu, a thousand commentaries have been written; some of them, (say the Hindoos in their romantic style,) many millions of years ago; and from these commentaries the code of Gentoo laws, translated by Mr. Halhed, was extracted. To such minute particulars has the wise legislator of India descended, that, in the antient work above alluded to, (the Institutes,) there is a curious passage on the legal interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, with an exception in regard to adventures at sea; and this apparently compiled in periods when it was thought in Europe that no extensive commercial intercourse existed among mankind, and few adventures by sea were undertaken. Still more wonderful is their early improvement in mathematical and astronomical knowledge; for, according to Mr. Bailli, their instruments, though stupendous and of high antiquity, are made with such exactness, that they evince, in the fabricators, an intimate acquaintance with the elements of geometry, spherical trigonometry*, and other sciences, not then supposed to have been cultivated. Those instruments and their tables of calculation remain a superb and lasting monument of their early maturity in astronomical researches; although the exact principles upon which the former were constructed and the latter composed are no longer understood by the Brahmins.

To these various arguments, however, powerful and imposing as

* See Mr. Playfair's remarks on the astronomy of the Brahmins in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii. part ii. p. 175.

they are in favour of the ark having rested upon the summits of the Indian Caucasus, not only the sacred books, understood in their natural and obvious sense, but the civil history of mankind, in the earliest ages after the flood, so far as the fragments of that history in Berosus, Sanchoniatho, and a few other of the most early annalists of Asiatic events, have descended down to us, give the direct negative. But what is still more to the purpose, the antient records of the Hindoos themselves, recently explored, affirm their establishment in Persia, which lies in the direct line eastward from the region, in which, according to Scripture, the ark settled, previously to the formation of any regular government in India: and those venerable writings farther corroborate this statement by asserting, that the ancestors of the Chinese were originally a colony of Hindoos; who, about fifteen centuries before Christ, emigrated from their native country, and, passing the Ganges, erected a new empire in the province of Shenshi, afterwards increased and finally subdued by still more numerous and powerful colonies from the over-charged plains of Scythia. In respect to the surprising progress of the Indians in arts and sciences, if allowed in the extent required, (and I am willing to allow it the utmost possible extent compatible with the Mosaic chronology, and not hostile to Christianity,) it may be fairly and reasonably accounted for on the hypothesis, which, throughout this work, I have laboured to establish, viz. that of a strong mixture of ante-diluvian science, preserved in the breast and in the family of Noah, with that flourishing in the early post-diluvian ages.

Armenia lies to the north of Mesopotamia, and its very name, compounded according to Bochart of Ar and Mene, *mons lunaris*, or the *mountain of the moon*, is a remarkable proof how early those who descended from the ark began to engage in astronomical speculations, and to apply to conspicuous objects in nature the names of the planets. Its more general denomination was Ararat, which

signifies *the mountain of descent*, for, *in cacumine illius montis, arca Noæ post diluvium primum stetit*, upon the summit of that mountain, the ark of Noah rested after the deluge*. The particular eminence upon which the ark descended was denominated BARIS. Mr. Bryant has justly remarked, that the wisdom of Providence was singularly displayed in directing the vessel to a region particularly well calculated to be the nursing parent of the human race; a region in the highest degree fertile, full of rich plains and valleys, abounding with every production necessary for life, watered with noble rivers, particularly the Araxes, and, as we learn from Strabo, antiently celebrated for producing that olive, which those, who would willingly find inconsistency in the Mosaic history, have denied Armenia the distinction of bearing. A country, thus composed of mountains and extensive valleys, would, in all probability, be earliest dried, and consequently soonest habitable. In this region, then, according both to Scripture and probability, the eight holy persons, afterwards venerated in the pagan world as the eight principal gods, the sacred OGDOAS† of the Egyptians, the great Satyaurata and the seven pious REYSHEES of India, descended; there they planted the first colony after the flood, and founded the first city, called THAMANIM, from the number EIGHT.

Anxious to give the two opinions impartially, I shall not conceal a circumstance that makes considerably for the system of Raleigh and his followers, and Mr. Bryant is the authority for it‡. One part of Mount Taurus, situated in Aderbijian, in Persia, is still called AL

* See Bocharti Geograph. Sacra, p. 22. edit. 1674; and Bryant's Analysis, vol. iii. p. 3.

† The Ogdoas, says Mr. Bryant, consisted of eight personages described in a boat, who were esteemed the most antient gods of the country. In China, too, they venerate the mystical number eight. They are doubtless the eight Reyshees of India.

‡ Hatho Armenius, apud Bryant, ibid.

Baris, similar to the name by which Ararat was anciently distinguished. Sir Thomas Herbert, an inquisitive traveller and faithful writer, to whose Indian travels I shall hereafter be greatly indebted, visited this spot in 1626, and tells us, that the inhabitants have an antient tradition that the ark rested there; and, according to Tavernier, hard by is another village, where they suppose the wife of Noah to have died. The learned analyst, however, only mentions the notion to overthrow it, by adding, that, wherever the arkite rites were instituted, the same names were given to different places, Baris, Mene, Selene; that the particular name of Da Moan, the village at the foot of it, is understood by the natives in the sense of the *second plantation;* and that these circumstances only shew how universally diffused throughout the antient world was the tradition of the Mosaic ark and the general deluge.

In the present infant state of our knowledge in respect to India, and till the treasures, that lie buried in the deep mine of Sanscreet literature, shall be more deeply explored and made our own, whatever may be affirmed concerning the origin of the Hindoos; that is to say, the precise branch of the family of Noah from which they immediately sprang; cannot merit to be distinguished by any higher appellation than conjecture. Even the most successful attempts of this kind can only be considered in the light of fortunate guesses; yet still, if we find the whole country, in the most antient Sanscreet records and charts, called by the Scripture-appellation of one of the immediate descendants, even the grandson of Noah, and the name of two others of that primordial family, at this very day, throughout that vast empire, holden in the profoundest veneration, and considered as demigods, at least in their system of romantic mythology, we have the strongest reason to conclude, that the Hindoos are descended, in a direct line, from the chief, by whose name their country, which they themselves denominate Cusha

Dweepa, or the continent of Cush, is distinguished; and that Bali, or Belus, and Rama, the deified heroes of their early history, are the identical personages recorded in sacred writ; the former, according to that authentic chronicle, being the first, and the latter the fourth, son of Cush. When it is farther considered, that Bali and Rama confer their respective names on two distinguished Avatars, as may be observed in the ode above quoted, conjecture rises very near to the certainty of proof. To the consideration of those Avatars we shall immediately return, and the very first that occurs, in its leading feature, bears such an immediate affinity to a stupendous event recorded in the Mosaic history, the destruction of an impious monarch, and the overthrow of an ambitious project to brave the power and vengeance of heaven, as scarcely to leave a doubt, in the serious and reflecting mind, of its direct allusion to the Nimrod of Scripture, that mighty and iniquitous hunter of men and beasts, the founder of the great empire of Babylon, and the first perverter of the patriarchal religion, by introducing among its pure rites the gross errors of the Sabian idolatry. A column bursting asunder, and the deity issuing from it under a terrific form, breathing flames to devour a blaspheming monarch, are events that have too great a similitude to the frantic attempt and fatal catastrophe at Babel, to permit us to hesitate at the application of this Indian fable. But, when we take into consideration all the connecting circumstances; that the names of the principal branches of the tyrant's family are equally to be found in the dynasties of India and Babylon; that Nimrod, or, to give him his usual name in profane history, the elder Belus, was the father of astronomy after the flood, and is supposed to have built the tower of Babel partly for astronomical purposes; probability, it must be owned, approaches very near upon certainty.

THE SING AVATAR, REPRESENTING the DEITY,

PLATE II.



Barlow sculp.

under the form of a MAN LION, *bursting from a* PILLAR *to destroy*
a Blaſpheming Monarch.

To the Right Rev.d and Hon.ble Shute, Lord Bishop of Durham, this Plate, emblematical of the Calamity at Babel, & exhibiting another glaring Proof how highly the antient mythological History of India corroborates the Mosaic Writings, is, with profound respect, & unfeigned gratitude, inscribed by T. M.

THE NARA-SING AVATAR, OR FOURTH INCARNATION OF VEESHNU, UNDER A FORM HALF MAN AND HALF LION.

The greater part of the history of this Avatar has already been detailed in the former volume, in a passage cited from Mr. Chambers, which it is necessary again to bring before the view of the reader, not only because it is a genuine translation, by an eminent Indian scholar, from a Sanscreet original, but on account of its forming, together with another Sanscreet fragment of original historical matter in my possession from the stores of Mr. Halhed, a more complete relation of the events of this important Avatar than has hitherto been presented to that public, whose curiosity is now so justly excited to the investigation of the precious remains of Indian lore. This passage is preceded, in Mr. Chambers's narration, by an account of the Giant Hirinacheren, who, the reader may recollect, rolled up the earth into a shapeless mass, and carried it on his shoulders down to PATALA, (hell); circumstances that gave birth to the events of the second Avatar, in which Veeshnu, in the form of a boar, is represented as pursuing that monster to his retreat, and bringing back the earth upon his mighty tusks.

According to Mr. Chambers, the younger brother of that gigantic dæmon was Hirinakassap, who succeeded him in his kingdom over the inferior world, and refused to do homage to Veeshnu. He had a son named Pralhaud, who, at an early age, openly disapproved this part of his father's conduct, being under the tuition of Sokeracharj. His father persecuted him on this account, banished him, and even sought to kill him, but was prevented by the interposition of heaven, which appeared on the side of Pralhaud. At length, Hirinakassap was softened, and recalled his son to his

court; where, as he sat in full assembly, he began again to argue with him against the supremacy of Veeshnu, boasted that he himself was *lord of all the visible world*, and asked what Veeshnu could pretend to more. Pralhaud replied, that Veeshnu had no fixed abode, but was present every where. "Is he," said his father, "in that PILLAR?"—"Yes," returned Pralhaud. "Then let him come forth," said Hirinakassap; and, rising from his seat, struck the pillar with his foot; upon which, Veeshnu, in the form of Nara-Sing, that is to say, with a body like a man, but a head like a lion, came out of the pillar and tore Hirinakassap in pieces. Veeshnu then fixed Pralhaud on his father's throne, and his reign was a mild and virtuous one, and, as such, was a contrast to that of his father. He left a son named Namachee, who inherited his power and his virtues, and was the father of Bali, the founder of the once magnificent city of Mahabalipoor*. Through the disguise of these fables, Mr. Chambers judiciously observes, we may discern some imperfect records of great events, and of revolutions that have happened in remote times; and they perhaps merit our attention the more, as it is not likely that any records of very antient Hindoo history exist, but in this obscure and fantastic dress. Their poets seem to have been their only historians, as well as divines; and whatever they relate is wrapped up in this burlesque garb, set off, by way of ornament, with circumstances hugely incredible and absurd; and all this without any date, and in no other order or method than such as the poet's fancy suggested and found most convenient. Nevertheless, by comparing names and grand events recorded by them with those interspersed in the histories of other nations, and by calling in the assistance of antient monuments, coins, and inscriptions, as occasion shall offer, some probable conjectures, at

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 158.

least, if not important discoveries, may, it is hoped, be made on these interesting objects*.

Of the truth of these observations almost every page of this history will afford striking examples, and great exertions of candour will therefore, I flatter myself, be made in favour of an author, who has so few lights of genuine historical detail to conduct him through the pathless wilderness of the antient annals of India. I will endeavour, however, to be faithful to such originals as I may be able to obtain; and, where I cannot hope to produce subjects of instruction to the reader, I will endeavour to procure those that may entertain him. In that hope I present him with the following more extensive history of this Avatar, extracted immediately by Mr. Halhed from the Seeva Pooraun, premising two things; first, that the Metempsychosis is the basis of all their mythology, the grand agent that moves the vast machine; and, secondly, that the tremendous austerities, voluntarily undergone and long continued in by the Hindoos, are supposed to give the devotee power even over the elements of nature, to arrest the orbs of heaven in their rapid career, to disarm Veeshnu of his thunder, and almost avail to annul the absolute decrees of fate.

As we are now of necessity somewhat immersed in the contests of the good and evil genii, that is, the good and evil spirits that agitate the mind, variable and fluctuating, of human beings, now ardent in virtue and now furious in guilt; those dreadful contests for the empire of the renovated world which disturbed its peace in the infancy of its duration; which, in fact, form the great basis of antient mythology; and of which, while the former are distinguished by the title of good and benevolent, the sons of light, the favoured of Jove, the latter are stigmatised as giants and Titans, the sons of

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 158.

darkness and earth: while we are engaged, I say, in thus considering their mutual struggles, it may not be amiss to warn the reader against entertaining suspicions so injurious to the principles of the true patriarchal devotion as might lead him to suppose these dreadful penances, unprescribed by the Deity, unsanctioned by revelation, hostile to reason, and terrifying to nature, constituted a part of the primitive code. Pure and benevolent, like its author, the primitive religion was unstained with sanguinary rites; but, when the worship of deified heroes was established, the public devotion soon partook of the nature of their ferocious character. The increasing apprehensions, which, from a confined and superficial view of Providence, men began to entertain of the agency of evil dæmons in the government of the world, gradually deepened the gloom of religious terror. Expiations and penances of the most dreadful kind were multiplied without end and without number, while the Deity was seen arrayed only in the ensigns of terror, and frowning with an aspect of vengeance.

Of the order of those evil dæmons, that act so conspicuous a part in the Hindoo mythology and early mythological history, were the two brothers Hirinacheren and Hirinakassap. They had, in the preceding state, been of the order of happy and perfect spirits, and their important office in the celestial regions was to guard the portals of the palace of the divine Veeshnu; but, having insulted the four sons of Brahma, who had come to the gate to pay their customary devotions to the former deity, they were precipitated from that eminent station to wander through the Metempsychosis in an earthly form. The particulars of the combat of the former, under the name of the Giant Hayagreva, with Veeshnu, in the Vara, or Boar, Avatar, need not be again repeated; the latter, in order to do more extensive mischief in his new sphere of action, devoted himself to acts of severe mortification, and employed himself, says the Pooraun,

ten thousand years in penance and in honour of Brahma, standing in a posture immoveable, till the very birds made their nests on him; but still he would not desist. Brahma gave notice to the Devatas, or good genii ranging the earth; and then granted his desires; which were, that he might not be conquered *by any being then existing, either man, deva, peree, or animal of earth, or air, or water; and that his death should happen neither by day nor night, nor on earth nor in heaven.* Brahma, vanquished by the power of penance and prayer united, assented; and the ditye, going from his presence, summoned all the other dityes, and began to reign over them with their consent, or slay all those that resisted. He gradually extended his power over Paradise and Patala, or the infernal regions; so that, on account of his sanguinary vengeance, all the other sovereigns of the world's vast circuit were cut off, or remained in entire subjection to himself. His arrogance at length rose to such a pitch, that he thought within himself, if even Veeshnu should then present himself, he would give the god of nature battle.

About this time was born in his house a son named Pralhaud, who was ever employed in uttering the name of Bhagavat, or God; and at five years of age he was put under a tutor, according to the ordinance of the Vedas. The tutor was anxious alone to teach him the dark and occult sciences of the Rakshas (infernal spirits); but Pralhaud persisted in only learning that of devotion to Nara-Sing, and all his tutor's prohibitions were in vain. Those of his father and mother were not more efficacious; and the little Pralhaud, in the tutor's absence, even taught his school-fellows that one's natural father and mother were of no avail and authority compared with the supreme parent; and that this world was no more than a dream or an idea, and that the recollection of the Bhagavat should alone give motion to their tongues. Correction, however,

and the fear of worse, operated on the other boys, and they dropped the name of Bhagavat; but Pralhaud resisted every threat with the utmost firmness, even unto death. He was thrown into the fire and the water without receiving any detriment; no sword could touch him, and, in the panoply of piety, he was perfectly invulnerable.

After ten thousand trials of his inflexible virtue, the impious and relentless tyrant one day thus spoke to the intrepid youth: "Pralhaud, you say that Bhagavat is present every where, and that he is enveloped by every part of nature; is he then in this pillar of the palace, or is he not?" Pralhaud replied, "Most certainly he is." The ditye, then, in great wrath, raised aloft the golden sceptre that swayed the world, and said, "If your Bhagavat be in this pillar, see only what kind of homage I shall pay him:" and, with all his might, struck the pillar. On the instant of the blow, a tremendous voice issued from the smitten column, which caused an universal trembling throughout the palace. When it was evening, and the sun about to set, the pillar burst asunder, and Veeshnu started forth in the form of Nara-Sing, breathing forth terrific flames. The surrounding dityes fled away in amaze and horror, and such a dreadful noise was heard, that the mountains and the ocean forsook their places. Women with child miscarried wherever the voice was heard; and all the dityes were precipitated to the abyss of hell. Hirinakassap, however, stood firm in battle for two ghurries; but, as Bhagavat conceived that if the contest should be of any long continuance, the dissolution of the world must inevitably take place, he dragged the struggling ditye by the hair of his head to a subterraneous vault beneath the threshold of the palace; there, extending him across his knees, (see the plate annexed,) tore open his belly with his talons, and, faithful to the instinct of the animal whose form he had assumed, quaffed the blood of the disembowelled monarch.

Thus punctually was fulfilled the promise of the deity, the reward of intense devotion, that he should neither be conquered nor perish by man or genii; that his death should not happen by day or by night, for it was between both; nor by any noxious animal in the course of nature; nor on earth nor in heaven, for his destruction was effected in an arched vault that sustained the portal of the palace.

At this event, says the Pooraun, all the Devatas, or good genii, rejoiced and rained flowers from above, and sang praises; while on earth the Gandharves and Assoors shouted and danced in transports of virtuous exultation. Pralhaud, in astonishment, joined with them. However, the wrath of Nara-Sing burned so excessive, that it was not appeased by the ditye's death; and the Devatas themselves were all afraid to approach him. At length, with united voice, they called aloud on Veeshnu, in his preserving capacity, for assistance; urging, that, as he had before rescued them from the poison which arose out of the ocean, when churned by the evil dæmons, and received it in his throat, so now they besought him to relieve them from the flame issuing from Nara-Sing's mouth, with which they were tormented. Veeshnu smiled propitious, and Nara-Sing instantly vanished*.

There cannot be any stronger evidence brought than is here displayed of the truth of that assertion, in our former volume, that the Avatars are all historical allegories, combining a very considerable portion of morality and astronomy. The tyrannical sovereign, who made himself king over the whole earth, and even claimed divine honours, and disputed the empire of the skies with the Deity himself, could be no other than the first imperial despot after the deluge; that Nimrod, who, according to Mr. Wilford, is, in fact, celebrated

* Manuscript of the Seeva Pooraun, translated by Mr. Halhed.

in Sanscreet history under the corresponding name of NIRMARYADA, an antient sovereign of Misra-Sthan, or Egypt, execrable for every species of tyranny and crimes; that despot, who hunted down men and beasts, and who erected a fabric intended to brave the skies, and render him superior even to the fury of the elements. The Nara-Sing *breathing flames* naturally brings to our recollection the Oriental accounts of the calamity at Babel, that state its subversion to have been accomplished by tempestuous whirlwinds and bolts of fire from heaven, which destroyed the artificers and crumbled to pieces the towering edifice. Let it also be remembered, while we are discussing this peculiar descent of Veeshnu to punish blasphemy and tyranny, that, in the simple language of Scripture, the Deity is affirmed to have *descended* at Babel: *And the Lord said, Go to, let us go down.* Gen. xi. 7. And how should a race of mythologists describe this descent after a more impressive manner than by assuming the similitude of an animal, the most formidable and powerful in nature, the lion, terrible in his anger; especially when another circumstance is considered, into the discussion of which I am immediately about to enter, that the bright star of the first magnitude in Leo was at that time in or near the solstitial colour, which, without doubt, must have had its influence with those who formed a theological system deeply tinctured with astronomy.

THE MORAL AND ASTRONOMICAL ALLUSION OF THE NARA-SING AVATAR.

There can be little doubt but that, on the division and dispersion of mankind which immediately took place, the colony, which migrated to Egypt, with the history of that awful event, bore also the Indian mythological designation, and that the wonderful sphinx of

that country, compounded partly of a lion and partly of those of a human being, owed its original formation to this Avatar: and I say it with the more confidence, because, on their hieroglyphic sphere and in their early annals, we have already traced the three prior Avatars; the fish-god, represented like the Matsya; the canis Anubis, or boar's head; and the testudo of Hermes. In opposition, therefore, to all the reveries of mythologists, who make the sphinx a sacred allegorical symbol, alluding to the sun in Leo and Virgo, when Egypt was inundated, truth compels us to refer the invention of that hieroglyphic to the Nara-Sing Avatar. It is a fact singularly corroborative of this hypothesis, that Colonel Pearse actually discovered, portrayed on the Jaggernaut pagoda, the sphinx of Egypt; and the reader will find it engraved in illustration of his letter on that subject in the second volume of Asiatic Researches. An elephant is indeed added below to the figures, but there is no accounting for the chimæras of Indian mythologists, and the superior parts of the sculpture exactly represent the blended character of the sphinx of Egypt having the female breasts with the head and talons of the lion. Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride, confesses, that to the Egyptians themselves the sphinx was an inexplicable mystery; but we have now found its origin in India; and I may add, that the word itself, supposed to be derived from *sphang*, redundantia, alluding to the redundant waters of the overflowing Nile, is far more likely to be a corruption of the Sanscreet *sing*, a lion, than to germinate from any Hebrew or Phœnician radix.

Nimrod, the hunter, and properly the inventor of astronomy at Babel, of which he was the builder, is well known by various other names in the East. Among the astronomers of Chaldæa, the peculiar region of his sovereignty, he was known by th en ame of Orion and Belus; the latter name, however, more particularly applied by them to his son, the events of whose life follow next in order

among the Avatars of India. But there was also another branch of the great patriarchal family in Asia, a branch renowned for their early skill in navigation, and to whom therefore a knowledge of the stars was indispensable. This ancient race was the Phœnicians; who, blending truth with astronomy, conferred on him a title implying somewhat more than Bal or Belus, and meaning the sun in that full meridian strength in which it has been previously observed he attacked and overcame the Nemæan lion. The title thus bestowed was Hercules, under which name he was early portrayed on the ancient sphere; and long before the Greeks had engrafted upon the history of that hero, traditionally handed down to them, the exploits of the more recent personage, whom they, in their still more complex mythology, had exalted to the skies.

In truth, I consider THE SPHERE, of which we are in possession, as the work of astronomers of many distinct nations of the East, combining various circumstances of their respective mythology, and united into one solid mass, as well as appropriated to themselves by those of Greece, from whom it has descended down to posterity. That the Phœnicians were very early astronomers is evident from their vigilant observation, previously noticed, of the Ursa Minor, called from them Phœnice, and of the star in that constellation, called the pole-star; that star which Eternal Providence, willing that his creatures, wheresoever dispersed over the face of the globe, should be united in social harmony, fixed in the centre of the arctic circle, as an unerring guide to direct their travels by land and their voyages by sea. Whensoever I cast my eyes upon that sphere, methinks I see a vast though confused volume of hieroglyphics, the most ancient and authentic in the world, and containing much of the history of the primæval characters and events of most celebrity in the early post-diluvian ages. Among those, none was more conspicuous than the Phœnician and Indian

Hercules, who was doubtless the most ancient of all those upon whom antiquity conferred that celebrated name. The history of Hercules, of whom no less than three are enumerated, however, alludes to and embraces too many important points in early mythological story for me to enter at any length into discussions concerning either his real or fictitious exploits. There is the greatest probability to suppose, (for, to certainty we cannot arrive,) that the ancients, as they designated Noah by Dionysius, under the character and exploits of this first, or Phœnician, Hercules, shadowed out the martial character and daring feats, not only of Nimrod, the father, but of his son, also distinguished by the name of Baal, Bal, and Balin, and which make so conspicuous a figure in the earliest historical periods of every Oriental empire.

The astronomical history of Orion has been already detailed: it is, however, very deserving of notice while we are upon this Avatar, that the Greater Dog, according to Hyde, is in Syriac called Kelbo Gavoro, Canis Gigantis, sive ORIONIS*. In after-ages, the Egyptians, to whom the Canis Major was a constellation of very great importance, altered the mythology, and appropriated to their own fabulous history the dog of Orion, and, omitting the name of the Assyrian monarch, called it Sirius and Osiris, simply the dog-star, by which name it descended to the Greeks, and from the Greeks to us.

The moral, inculcated throughout the whole of this Avatar, is sublime and admirable. We are, in the first place, taught by it, that repentance and prayer are omnipotent with the Deity, and that their reward is certain and ample; that, however, when virtue thus rewarded and exalted again suffers a relapse into the enormity of vice, and the reformed penitent becomes insolent to God and arro-

* Dr. Hyde's Ulug Beg, p. 53.

gant to man, vengeance is at hand to crush his overgrown tyranny; while Pralhaud exhibits to us a noble pattern of exemplary piety in youth, inflexible amidst all the splendid temptations of a licentious court, and unawed by the vindictive menaces of a despotic and sanguinary parent. The secretary of Akber, after relating this Avatar, adds, from other sources of information, that Nara-Sing, after the destruction of the impious father, benignly turned to the son, and bade him ask whatever he wished for; when the pious young prince only solicited the speedy attainment of *muckt*, which is everlasting beatitude in the presence of that God, whom he had so zealously served*. I cannot avoid remarking, though chronology forbids the supposition of their identity, that this character of Pralhaud very much resembles that of Abraham, who is said, by the Oriental writers, to have been thrown by Nimrod into a fiery furnace, because he would not pay adoration to fire; from which, by the power of God, he came out unhurt. Traditions, widely spread over all the Higher Asia, concerning the piety of that patriarch, and his resolutely resisting the prevailing idolatry of the corrupt æra in which he flourished, might have served as the basis of this extraordinary history, perplexed by mythology and obscured by the vast distance of time elapsed since the event.

In considering the astronomical allusion of every Avatar, we ought never to lose sight of the great, though secondary, object of the adoration of the Hindoos, the solar orb, in whose refulgent centre they supposed the throne of the Creator of the universe to be fixed. Hence they contemplated its ray with ecstacy, and venerated the hallowed flame kindled by its beams. To the relative position of the more conspicuous constellations, also, sedulous attention should be paid in an investigation of this nature, because

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. i. p. 236.

the ancients conceived them to be the receptacles of elevated spirits, who had finished the terrestrial journey, and of genii commissioned to superintend the revolution of the orbs, and regulate the vast economy of nature. The splendid star, from its position called Cor Leonis, or Heart of the Lion, one of the most brilliant of the heavens, about the period of the dispersion, was, we are certain, from retrograde calculation as well as the astronomical books of the ancient Persians, in the solstitial colure*, and therefore must have been at that time, to the rising astronomers of the Chaldæan school, an interesting object of peculiar and unwearied attention. The irresistible energy and distinguished eminence of that supreme sovereign of the beastly train, whose name was conferred upon the constellation, gave additional force to the allegory; and therefore it was feigned, that the sun, pouring the fierce ardour of his summer beam upon the lion, then a solstitial sign, with his devouring fire consumed the blasphemer, and blasted the daring project of his gigantic ambition. Independently, however, of this remarkable fact, Leo being one of the forty-eight oldest-formed constellations and also a zodiacal asterism, the symbol might be intended to designate the period of the year when the awful event took place, as the Matsya, I have contended, occurred when the sun was in the watery sign of Pisces. The inseparable connexion that subsisted between the astronomical and theological system of the ancients justifies my persevering in this mode of interpreting the Indian mythology, and we shall find a singular corroboration of the propriety of so doing in the next Avatar, in which the planet Venus acts a very conspicuous part. The Virgo of Egypt, however, can have no active part to perform in the Indian drama; for, all the Avatars are male, representing the sun under the similitude of a

* Consult M. Bailli's Astronomie Ancienne, p. 13.

conqueror, young and vigorous, as the Greeks represented their Hercules, when he toiled through his twelve labours, (which possibly may be only a copy of Veeshnu in the Avatars,) and it will be remembered that this most famous exploit was with a lion; the Nemæan lion, exalted to the sphere with the epithet Herculeus often conferred, in consequence, on that whole constellation:

> LEO, flammiferis æstibus ardens,
> Iterum a cœlo cadet Herculeus.

Hercules and the Nemæan lion, therefore, seem to be only varieties of the Nara-Sing. Mithra with his lion are the same; it is still the lion of the sphere: and the radiant youth, conquering the savage, or conquering by its means, is still the sun. Hence the priests of Mithra were actually termed lions, from being invested, during the pomps of that deity, with the skins of that animal; and the mysteries themselves were called leonticæ. Hence Hercules combated, clothed with the lion's skin; and the Heraclidæ and Alexander delighted to array themselves in the dress of their vaunted progenitor. With this Avatar, the Satya Yug, or Saturnian age of the Hindoos, closes, comprising four Avatars; and containing, according to the computations of their sacred books, the enormous amount of one million seven hundred and twenty thousand years; for the full explanation of which, the reader is referred to the ample details concerning those Yugs in the former volume. Though it may not be improper, at the end of every Yug, generally to state, that they are plainly nothing more than astronomical periods, founded on the basis of the precession of equinoxes of fifty-four seconds more or less times repeated, according to the number of Avatars in each Yug, as is apparent in the accurate calculations there presented him, from the valuable manuscript of Mr. Burrow.

END OF THE SATYA YUG, OR FIRST INDIAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER II.

In this short Chapter the Author vindicates himself from the Charge of SYSTEM, *and enumerates a Variety of striking additional Facts, by which it is proved, that the ancient Sanscreet Writings decidedly corroborate the Mosaic Records.*

THE history of the Satya Yug being concluded, before I enter on the history of the TRETA Yug, the next in order of time and events, I feel it necessary to endeavour to obviate an objection, urged with persevering clamour against this History, that, in it, every thing is sacrificed to the support of the Mosaic writings; and to vindicate myself from the charge of bending every thing down to a favourite system.

At the very commencement of this History, in the most unreserved manner, I declared the basis on which, in writing it, I intended to proceed; and confessed myself to be, by no means, one of that class of sceptical writers, so numerous in the present age, and who are of opinion, that the early records of the Hebrew nation are not less fabulous and mythological than those of other nations; for, in truth, I never saw any thing of a mythological cast in them: nor have I been induced, by any arguments hitherto produced, to believe, that, instead of being the composition of Moses, they were the fabrication of a far later age, when the Jews had returned from Babylon, replete with the mystic learning and hieroglyphic theology of the Eastern magi.

It is not from any predilection to a *particular system*, but from *conviction*, that I have, through the whole preceding portion of the narration, contended for the palm of originality in favour of the

Hebrew historian; considering Moses as the inspired source, and all the later pagan fabulists as the gross copyists and pervertors, of the sacred story that relates the birth, the fall, the destruction, and restoration of the human race. With respect to the Hindoos, as it does by no means appear to me that they ever were acquainted with the Mosaic writings, they could only (I must again repeat it) obtain the knowledge of the great events, described, however absurdly, in their allegorical legends, through the medium of traditions, preserved with more or less accuracy in the principal branches of the first great family after the deluge. To suppose that Moses derived his information from the Indian books through an Egyptian channel, as has been loudly and repeatedly asserted by our sceptical opponents, is the quintessence of absurdity; because, both the fountain and the channel are so deeply contaminated, that some part of the prolonged and multiplied mythology of the one or the other of those nations must have manifested itself in this relation; whereas, nothing can possibly be more concise or void of embellishment and affectation than that relation is from the initial to the ultimate verse that describes the events of the infant and regenerated world. I will present the reader with a very striking and convincing proof of the truth of this assertion, in a circumstance which I purposely omitted to mention before.

When Noah had descended from the ark, and had offered that *oblation*, which I have frequently remarked was recorded amidst the asterisms of the primitive sphere, (the ALTAR, with its vast column of fire and smoke arising from it, being one of the old forty-eight constellations,) in token that the pious sacrifice was acceptable to him, the Deity condescended to make a covenant with the patriarch; and, as a sure pledge that he would never again destroy the earth by a deluge, he placed *his bow* in the heavens; *I do set my bow in the clouds.* Gen. ix. 12. Concerning this covenant and this bow, its in-

fallible pledge, the ancestors of the ancient Indian race had traditionally heard; but time, and the allegorizing spirit to which they were so grossly addicted, had united to obscure the solemn fact. Mythology, however, seized and consecrated the symbol, and made it a prominent feature in her varied and complicated system, though its original purport and allusion were obliterated from human remembrance. One of the fourteen sacred things, which the churned ocean, after the deluge, disgorges, in the Courma, or third, Avatar, is the symbol alluded to; and, if the reader will advert to the engraved plate of that Avatar, in the former volume, he will perceive the bow resting on the surface of the water of that ocean; placed there, it should seem, to intimate, that it was the powerful charm which was to repress its swelling waves, and prevent their deluging a second time the agitated globe. Of this bow, which the Indians call *danook*, wonderful things are narrated; for, it belonged to a god, and the arrow shot from it never failed to reach the object aimed at. But, though they have strangely transformed the celestial bow into one used in the battle of the genii, (therefore indeed still ætherial,) the period of its production, that is, immediately after the inundation, and its great celebrity in early Hindoo annals, mark its true origin, display its hidden meaning, and detect the fallacy of the delusive allegory. There does not remain with me the smallest doubt, that the bow *(Dhan)* of the Indian zodiac, which, on the Egyptian sphere, is designated by an extended hand grasping an arrow, and with us by the figure of an archer, or bowman, was the original asterism, and that by it was actually meant the bow of the heavens, or the rainbow. It is also a remarkable fact, and by no means to be omitted, that the Persian system of mythology, so connected with the Indian, arms the hands of their Mars, the leader of the celestial armies, with a rainbow, with which he makes war on the evil, or dark, spirits, eager with

storms and deluge to desolate the earth. My authority for this highly-corroborative circumstance is the following verbal translation from the Persian poet HATIFI. "He bedecked the firmament with stars, and ennobled this earth with the race of men. He gently turned the auspicious new moon of the festival, like a bright jewel, round the ancle of the sky. He placed the Hindoo Saturn on the seat of a restive elephant. He made silken strings of sun-beams for the lute of Venus; and presented Jupiter, who saw the felicity of true religion, with a rosary of clustering Pleiads. The bow of the sky became the bow of Mars, when he was honoured with the command of the celestial host; for, God conferred sovereignty on the sun, and squadrons of stars were his army." *

If the original asterism had been designated by any other object than a bow, it would certainly have been denominated from that object; but the whole asterism being known, in the oldest Sanscreet books, only by the term Dhan, the bow, there can be no doubt of its having been the distinguishing object. A powerful corroborative proof of it is, that the bow occurs as an asterism among the Nacshatra, or lunar mansions, presented to the reader in a preceding chapter of this volume.

The very same train of mythological reasoning and deduction, founded on traditions relative to the benign intention of the Deity, in establishing the magnificent bow as the glorious token of his gracious reconciliation with man, in all probability influenced the authors of the Greek mythology in their fanciful invention of the character of Iris, the messenger of Jupiter and Juno, the firmament and æther personified; in other words, the eloquent and beautiful herald of the divine benevolence to the compassionnated human race. The Greeks properly styled her the daughter of Thaumas,

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 309.

admiration; and clothed her in a rich robe of the most beautiful and vivid dyes. In the same strain of allegory, they made the peacock, whose expanded tail displays such a rich assemblage of dazzling colours, the favourite bird of Juno. It is a curious fact, that Carticeya, the Indian commander of the celestial armies, and the Persian Mars, to whom we have seen the rainbow is assigned, should be drawn in the pagodas riding on a peacock, and often clothed in a robe spangled with eyes; and, when we read that Carticeya is the son of PARVATI, the Indian Juno; and that, in fact, a peacock is often seen standing near her, without a rider, in many of those pagodas; we may rest assured that such a similarity of ideas between nations so distant and unconnected could not possibly have arisen by chance, but that the system must have originated with the elder or Oriental nation: a nation that equally disdained to borrow from another its science or its religion. The very same train of just reasoning, founded on analogy, leads to a discovery of the true character and origin of the Grecian IRIS, (the rainbow,) the messenger of Jupiter and Juno, the firmament and æther personified, in other words, the eloquent and radiant messenger of almighty beneficence to pardoned man.

Neither is it the effect of system that I have ventured to refer so large a portion of the preceding Avatars to an astronomical origin, since they have all more or less very evident allusion to the constellations, as has been already, I trust, satisfactorily proved; and, as the succeeding legend, related both by Baldæus and Roger, from their sacred books, and relative to the Vara, will still more decisively shew. After the earth, by the miraculous power of Veeshnu, in the form of a boar, had been brought up from the abyss in which it had been submerged, and restored to its former position, on a near and exact survey of it by that deity, it was discovered to be somewhat more inclining to the south than before; a circumstance

that very much perplexed Veeshnu, whom the legend, rather inconsistently, represents as unable to rectify this capital error. He applies, however, to a holy and learned saint, named Agastya, to exert those mighty powers which piety and prayer bestow upon the virtuous, in restoring the globe once more to a just equilibrium. The holy man complied with his request; and, laying his book of devotion on that part of the planet which inclined to the south, presently set all right again. This relation I for a long time considered in the light of one of their romantic encomiums on the practice of intense austerities, and did not perplex myself to find out the latent meaning of so exaggerated a story. The second volume of the Asiatic Researches, arriving in England about the period of my being engaged on that Avatar, with that pleasure which naturally results from finding the infant idea started in the mind strengthened by the coincidence of other corresponding facts, I read the subsequent observation of Sir William Jones, in his essay that contains his researches into the astronomy of the ancients; that Agastya was an ancient sage of profound learning and piety, and that he was canonized in Canopus; which we know to be the bright star on the rudder of the ship, which the Greeks denominated Argo, but which the great analyst of the ancient pagan mythology has successfully proved to be the ark of Noah exalted to the sphere. Now the mythological history of Canopus is, that he was the pilot of that sacred vessel, and was adored as the god of mariners among the Egyptians, who, therefore, placed him on the rudder, calling him Canobus, from *Cnoub*, the Coptic term for gold; in reference to the singular colour and lustre of a star, one of the most brilliant in the southern hemisphere. The circumstance of this star not being visible in any of the celebrated cities of Greece has already been noticed from the same author and Dr. Rutherford, in proof that the Greeks were not the original inventors of that

asterism; and now we find in India a still more ancient mythology, which refers its presiding genius to a sage, who must have flourished in the very first age after the deluge, or he could not have been mentioned in connection with the Vara Avatar, which relates to the emersion of the earth.

If the character of Agastya, indeed, in the above-mentioned connection with this Avatar, had reference to the earth *solely*, we might still entertain doubts of its allusion to that of Noah; but, in addition to this legend, there is enumerated another, wild and extravagant enough, as indeed all the Indian fables are, but which decisively points to that patriarch, as the lord of the ocean, the irresistible controller of its fury. The story is as follows:

Agastya is recorded to have been very low in stature; and one day, previously to the rectifying the too oblique posture of the earth, walking with Veeshnu on the shore of the ocean, the insolent deep asked the god, who that dwarf was, strutting by his side? Veeshnu replied, it was the patriarch Agastya going to restore the earth to its true balance. The sea, in utter contempt of his pigmy form, dashed him with its spray as he passed along; on which the sage, greatly incensed at the designed affront, scooped up some of the water in the hollow of his hand and drank it off; he again and again repeated the draught, nor desisted till he had drained the bed of the ocean of the entire volume of its waters. Alarmed at this effect of his holy indignation, and dreading an universal drought, the Devatas made intercession with Agastya to relent from his anger, and again restore an element so necessary to the existence of nature, both animate and inanimate. Agastya, pacified, granted their request, and discharged the imbibed fluid in a way becoming the histories of a gross physical people to relate, but by no means proper for this page; a way, however, that evinced his sovereign power, while it marked his ineffable contempt for the vain fury of an element,

contending with a being armed with the delegated power of the Creator of all things. After this miracle, the earth being, by the same power, restored to its just balance, Agastya and Veeshnu separated; when the latter, to prevent any similar accident occurring, commanded the *great serpent* (that is, of the sphere) to wind its enormous folds round the seven continents, of which, according to Sanscreet geography, the earth consists, and appointed, as perpetual guardians to watch over and protect it, the eight powerful genii, so renowned in the Hindoo system of mythology, as presiding over the eight points of the world. In the above, as in all the rest of the Hindoo legends, together with the moral and mythological allusion, there is evidently contained a latent portion of astronomy, referring to the power of the sun, symbolized by Veeshnu, and to the combined influence of the constellations Canopus and Serpentarius; but, concerning their precise meaning, it would be as idle to speculate as it would be presumptuous to determine.

The very remarkable circumstance of the country, properly called India, being denominated in the Sanscreet geography, CUSHA-DWEEPA, or *the continent of Cush*, has been already noticed. This must be allowed to be no small corroborating proof of the correctness of the Hebrew historian, in whose annals Cush is expressly said to have been the son of Ham, the eldest son, as Mizraim, whence Egypt is called in the Sanscreet books *Misra-Sthan*, was the second. Gen. x. 6. And it is surely natural enough that each country should be denominated from its first planter or conqueror. But it appears that there are two Cusha-Dweepas: that just alluded to is Cusha-Dweepa *within*; there is one in Africa, which is called Cusha-Dweepa *without*; and the reason of that part of Africa being so called contains an important piece of early Oriental history. It is to be met with in the following passage of the celebrated treatise on

Egypt and the Nile by Mr. Wilford, and by him immediately copied from the Purana.

"CUSHA-DWEEPA *without* is *Abyssinia* and *Ethiopia;* and the Brahmins account plausibly enough for its name, by asserting, that the descendants of CUSHA being obliged to leave their native country, from them called CUSHA-DWEEPA *within*, migrated into SANCHA-DWEEPA, and gave to their new settlement the name of their ancestor."

By Sancha-Dweepa is here meant Egypt. Sancha, according to our author, means a sea-shell, and is generally applied to the large buccinum: the Red Sea, which abounds with shells of extraordinary size and beauty, was considered as part of the Sanchabdhi, and the natives of the country under consideration wore large collars of shells, according to STRABO, both for ornament and as amulets. In the Purana, however, it is declared that this Dweepa had the appellation of Sancha, because *its inhabitants lived in shells*, or in the caverns of rocks hollowed like shells, and with entrances like the mouths of them: others insist that the mountains themselves, in the hollows of which the people sought shelter, were no more than immense heaps of shells thrown on shore by the waves, and consolidated by time.

The fact of the whole region of India having been, in the most ancient æras, denominated Cusha-Dweepa, from Cush, is more particularly important, because, in the Avatar immediately about to follow, and with which I am of opinion the *regular* history of India commences, we find the name of Bali occurring, and immediately recognize Belus, his successor on the throne of Babylon. Of him enough will be said in the ensuing chapter, which details that Avatar; but concerning Cush, his father, I am happy in being able to present the reader with the following particulars from

the oldest records of the least-disturbed province of India, Cashmere.

Cashmere, whose mountains form the northern barrier of India, lies nearest to the great range that runs through Asia, and on a part of which the ark rested. Remembering with horror the dreadful calamity of the deluge, the first colonies that migrated from Armenia settled themselves in the most elevated regions, and naturally journeyed towards those regions, from which they saw the great luminary of heaven begin his daily career. Now the ancient traditional histories of Cashmere, as detailed by the secretary of Akber, who, with his master, several times visited that beautiful but mountainous region, and probably examined the records of that kingdom on the spot, affirm, that the whole immense valley, which its vast mountains surrounded, remained for many ages submersed in water, and that a celebrated Brahmin, of the name of Kushup, led thither a colony of Brahmins to inhabit the valley, after the waters had subsided. This very remarkable fact is rendered still more so by the additional account in the same book, that the civil history of the country, after its emersion from the overwhelming inundation, goes no farther back than about 4000 years, when the said Kushup, " a man remarkable for the austerity of his manners," led his colony thither. From the express words of this authentic book, which also inform us that, " in the early ages of the world, all Cashmere, except the mountains, was covered with water *," added to the above-mentioned circumstance, no doubt remains with me that the waters alluded to were the remains of the general deluge, and that the leader of the colony was either CUSH himself, the son of Nimrod, or one of the Cuthite progeny, assuming the name of the patriarchal head of the family. Various powerful reasons, but

* See Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 179.

particularly the remarkable date, induce me to be of opinion that it was the former, and the same person after whom, as the colony descended southward, the whole country, as we have seen, was denominated. This circumstance fixes the period of the first colonizing of India, where reason and tradition unite to fix it, in the very earliest ages after that deluge.

Such, candid reader, are some of the corroborative facts, which, from a quarter the least expected, the ancient annals of a kingdom which have been idly supposed to be utterly subversive of the Mosaic writings, I have been able to adduce in their favour. These will, I trust, prove an ample apology for my having proceeded so far in this excursive disquisition, which, however, I must again repeat is intimately connected with the subject before us, *the Indian history in its most remote periods*. These will display to latest ages their inviolable verity; and at the same time demonstrate, that, if (as the discouragers of this undertaking are forward to assert) I have pursued a SYSTEM, it is a system founded on the basis of incontrovertible fact, and supported by concurrent testimonies, drawn from the records of *one* of the most ancient empires, if not the *most* ancient empire, of the world.

CHAPTER III.

Exhibiting a comprehensive View of the real unexaggerated Chronology of INDIA, *so far as any fixed determinate Idea can be formed relative to its remote Æras, and commencing the History of the* TRETA-YUG, *or Second Grand Period; in which are included* THREE AVATARS. *The first of these, the* BAMUN-*Avatar, or Veeshnu descending in the form of a Dwarf to confound the Pride and Impiety of the magnificent Bali, or Belus; probably the first regular Sovereign of India.*

BEFORE I enter into the history of the events of the Treta-Yug, since we are at length arrived at a period when kings, professedly human, began to reign in India, it is necessary that I should premise something more satisfactory than has been hitherto said concerning the chronology of India. With any exactness, however, to arrange a system of chronology so boundless in its retrospect, and so perfectly devious from all the known and established principles of chronology in other kingdoms of the habitable earth, would be a task impracticable for any historian, however indefatigable. The only method I can take in the progress of this history is to regulate that chronology as far as possible by the general and received computation of ancient periods, sanctioned by sacred, and admitted by the most authentic profane, historians; to compare annals, weigh well the course of events, and accurately note the periods at which they are recorded to have happened. As I am determined to give myself the utmost possible latitude in chronology, not hostile to the sacred records, I shall adopt that of the Septuagint,

which gives nearly fifteen hundred years more to the age of the world than the Hebrew text and vulgate, and suppose, with Dr. Jackson, that the oldest and most renowned Belus, the founder of the Chaldæan dynasty, began to reign at Babylon 2233 years before Christ. My reason for adopting this hypothesis, though attended with some difficulties which I shall not attempt to reconcile, is, that it affords that prolonged space for the transaction of the grand events recorded in the Asiatic histories to have taken place on the theatre of the infant world, and for the gradual growth and expansion of the arts and sciences, which they appear to have required. I would be understood, however, principally to speak of the early post-diluvian ages, to which, by this means, we obtain an addition of nearly a thousand years, between the deluge and the time of Abraham, when both earth and heaven were convulsed with the combats of giants, Titans, and other personages, celebrated in ancient mythology, and whose exploits, however exaggerated by the pen of romance, had doubtless some basis in fact and history.

Our adopting this extensive chronology, and fixing the commencement of the Indian empire at so early an æra after the deluge, will also, I presume, at once gratify the strenuous advocate for the high antiquity of the Indians, as a nation, and reconcile to that antiquity, bounded by such comparatively moderate limits, the believer in the Mosaic records.

With respect to regular ante-diluvian chronology, having already shewn the fallacy of the boasted *millions*, to which the Indian system of computation lays claim, there is, in my humble opinion, no very urgent necessity for at all entering upon the discussion. The hypothesis on which these volumes proceed is hostile to the arrogated eternity, but not the extended duration, of the system we inhabit. If the sceptical opponent of revelation will, therefore, con-

descend somewhat to relax from the extreme obstinacy and unreasonableness of his infidelity, and only allow, that, at some remote period, *the world*, instead of being necessarily eternal, *had a beginning*; and that it owed its existence and the disposition of its parts not to blind chance, but to the spontaneous and benevolent operations of an eternal, infinite, intellectual, Being; it is not my intention to enter into violent and unprofitable altercation concerning the precise number of years that elapsed between the creation and the general deluge; an æra, concerning which we never *can* know any thing certain, nor is it at all necessary to our happiness that we *should*; especially as, concerning the duration of that period, even the Jewish manuscripts, the most venerable for age and the most respected for authenticity, materially vary. This very disparity, therefore, ought to have the effect of inducing all considerate persons, on so disputable a point, to form their opinions with candour, and regulate their decisions by caution. I have before observed, and I here take permission to repeat the observation, that it is not for a century or two, more or less, that we wage the contest with infidelity; but we cannot allow of thousands and millions being thrown into the scale. We are ready to grant the sceptic the most extended limits he can reasonably demand, in respect to the *time* of our planet's duration; but we can by no means admit the fanciful and impious hypothesis, that it has revolved either through myriads of ages or from eternity.

Arrian informs us, that there was a regular succession of Indian kings, from the reign of Bacchus to Sandrocottus. They amounted in number to one hundred and fifty-three sovereigns; and their reigns continued during a period of six thousand and forty-two years. He adds, that the Indians computed fifteen ages to have elapsed between Bacchus and Hercules. In the very same manner we read in Pomponius Mela, that the ancient Egyptians "boasted

to have had *trecentos et triginta reges ante Amasin**," or three hundred and thirty kings, who swayed the sceptre before Amasis, conquered by Cambyses, whose reigns took up a period of *tredecim millibus annorum*, or 13,000 years. Both these dynasties, and the extensive periods of their reigns, may safely be referred to the same origin to which we have in a former volume referred them, ORIENTAL VANITY AND FICTION. It was during this period, he adds, that the stars had four times changed their course, and the sun had set twice in the east: of which assertion the astronomy is as bad as the chronology is false; since, if ever those events had really taken place, they could not have happened within the limits of so contracted a period. These dynasties of Egyptian sovereigns, therefore, doubtless resembled the dynasties of India. They were nothing more than the *children of the sun and moon;* and the vast periods of their reigns were the revolutions of the celestial bodies. Still these mighty vaunts of their antiquity as a nation, however wildly extravagant they may appear, are comparatively moderate when we advert to another remarkable passage in Cicero, from whose relation we may conclude those assumptions of the astronomical priests of Asia were not unknown in the capital of the Roman empire; for, he acquaints us, that the Babylonians, and those *who contemplated the heavens from Caucasus*, (by whom he must mean the elder Persians and Indians,) had a series of observations extending back for 473,000 years †.

Astronomers, it must be owned, too forward to flatter princes, thus often employ the noblest of sciences to the most absurd, not to say the most disgraceful, purposes. But sometimes, under the guidance of really scientific and considerate men, it comes nobly in to the support of genuine history; and, in the present instance, the

* Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 3.

† Cicero de Divinatione, p. 50.

light which it sheds will greatly illumine our obscure research. Happily, in direct evidence of our assertion, that the first regular Babylonian monarch, after the dispersion, was Belus, and that his reign commenced at the period just mentioned, its own records may be fairly cited; for, the observations which Calisthenes sent to Aristotle, at the taking of Babylon by Alexander, in the year before Christ 330, are mentioned by Porphyry to have extended back for the term of 1903 years previous to that event, and consequently they began in the year before Christ 2233, and in the first year of Belus, the acknowledged father of Asiatic astronomy. Belus, therefore, seems to have been the son of Nimrod, and the first great emperor of the Higher Asia after the dispersion, and was, in all probability, the Bali, or first regular sovereign of the Indians. Another circumstance of no small importance results from the moderate hypothesis that assigns this renowned Asiatic astronomer for the first great chief of the Indian empire, since it accounts, in a far more rational and satisfactory manner than any other, for the Indian nation having so early become able proficients in astronomy, and all those other abstruse sciences for which they were so celebrated in antiquity; sciences preserved *memoriter* from the ruins of the ancient world, and transplanted thence by the Noachidæ and their first descendants in the regenerated world.

By fixing the commencement of the Indian empire at this (to European historians) most early period, but, to the Indian, most recent, I supersede all necessity of minutely examining the long list of kings of the solar and lunar dynasties, enumerated in Sir William Jones's Dissertation on the Indian Chronology, which are there given without any *particular* historical detail; and, though I do not think myself authorized wholly to omit noticing them, yet I must observe it as a thing not a little singular, that the last reign of the monarch of the fourth age is fixed at 2100 years before Christ;

that is, within nearly a century of the period which we have fixed upon as the most rational and probable for that commencement to take place. It is also remarkable, that the word Cush is found very little disguised in the three first names of the solar dynasty; in the last of which we recognize RAMA, stated in Genesis to have been the fourth son of Cush; and the third age begins with a monarch expressly denominated Cusha; which circumstances appear to demonstrate this long catalogue of sovereigns (if, indeed, any other than nominal and allegorical) to be either the lineal descendants of, or immediately connected with, those great patriarchal chiefs called in our Scriptures Cush and Rama, and afford additional proofs of the coincidence of those Scriptures and the ancient traditional histories of India. The remarks of Sir William Jones, which precede and follow his elaborate arrangement of these dynasties, will serve decisively to shew how utterly impossible it is to erect any substantial fabric of history upon a system of chronology, in which astronomy and allegory are so inextricably blended.

He begins by informing us, that, " In the present day of BRAHMA, the existing scene of things, the first MENU, our Adam, was surnamed SWAYAMBHUVA, or *son of the self-existent;* and it is he by whom the institutes of religious and civil duties are supposed to have been delivered. In his time the Deity descended at a sacrifice, and by his wife SATARUPA he had two distinguished sons and three daughters. This pair was created for the multiplication of the human species, after that new creation of the world, which the Brahmins call PADMACALPIYA, or the lotos-creation.

" If it were worth while," he observes, " to calculate the age of MENU's Institutes, according to the Brahmins, we must multiply four million three hundred and twenty thousand by six times seventy-one, and add to the product the number of years already past in the seventh Manwantara. Of the five MENUS who succeeded

him, probably ante-diluvian princes, I have seen little more than the names; but the Hindoo writings are very diffuse on the life and posterity of the seventh MENU, (our Noah,) surnamed VAIVASWATA, or *child of the sun*. He is supposed to have had ten sons, of whom the eldest was ICSHWACU; and to have been accompanied by seven Reyshees, or holy persons, whose names were, CASYAPA, ATRI, VASISHTHA, VISWAMITRA, GAUTAMA, JAMADAGNI, and BHARADWAJA. In the reign of this sun-born monarch, the Hindoos believe the whole earth to have been drowned, and the whole human race destroyed by a flood, except the pious prince himself, the seven Reyshees, and their several wives; for, they suppose his children to have been born after the deluge."

ICSHWACU, therefore, seems to be the first of Menu's posterity known in India; and partly in his own name, but more particularly in those of his two sons and successors in the Indian empire, VICUCHSHI and CUCUTSTHA, we recognize the first great patriarchal family of sacred writ, after the most distinguished chief of which the whole country was called Cusha-Dweepa. After this introductory information, Sir William proceeds, with the assistance of the writings and personal explanation of a venerable old Brahmin of Bengal, to arrange, as regularly as such a system would allow, the complicated mass of Indian chronology. It is necessary that the reader should bear in mind, during the perusal, that this essay of our author was composed in 1788, from which date the retrograde calculations ascend.

" The received chronology of the Hindoos (says our author) begins with an absurdity so monstrous, as to overthrow the whole system; for, having established their period of *seventy-one divine ages* as the reign of each Menu, yet, thinking it incongruous to place a holy personage in times of impurity, they insist that the Menu reigns only in every golden age, and disappears in the *three human ages* that follow

it, continuing to dive and emerge like a water-fowl, till the close of his Manwantara. The learned author of the Puranarthapracasa, which I will now follow step by step, mentioned this ridiculous opinion with a serious face; but, as he has not inserted it in his work, we may take his account of the seventh Menu according to its obvious and rational meaning, and suppose, that VAIVASWATA, the son of SURYA, the son of CASYAPA, or URANUS, the son of MARICHI, or *light*, the son of BRAHMA, which is clearly an allegorical pedigree, reigned in the last golden age; or, according to the Hindoos, three million eight hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago. But they contend, that he actually reigned on earth one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years of mortals, or four thousand eight hundred years of the gods; and this opinion is another monster so repugnant to the course of nature and to human reason, that it must be rejected as wholly fabulous, and taken as a proof, that the Indians know nothing of their sun-born Menu but his name, and the principal event of his life; I mean the universal deluge, of which the three first Avatars are merely allegorical representations, with a mixture, especially in the second, of astronomical mythology.

" From this Menu, the whole race of men is believed to have descended; for, the seven Reyshees, who were preserved with him in the ark, are not mentioned as fathers of human families; but, since his daughter ILA was married, as the Indians tell us, to the first BUDHA, or Mercury, the son of CHANDRA, or the Moon, a male deity, whose father was ATRI, son of BRAHMA, (where again we meet with an allegory purely astronomical or poetical,) his posterity are divided into two great branches, called the *children of the Sun*, from his own supposed father, and the *children of the Moon*, from the parent of his daughter's husband. The lineal male descendants in both these families are supposed to have reigned in

the cities of *Ayodhya*, or *Audh*, and *Pratishthana*, or *Vitora*, respectively, till the thousandth year of the present age; and, the names of all the princes in both lines having been diligently collected by RADHACANT from several Pooraums, I exhibit them in two columns, arranged by myself with great attention*."

On these solar and lunar dynasties of kings, the president remarks; "It is agreed, among all the Pandits, that RAMA, their seventh incarnate divinity, appeared as king of Ayodhya in the interval between the silver and the brazen ages; and, if we suppose him to have begun his reign at the very beginning of that interval, still three thousand three hundred years of the gods, or a million one hundred and eighty-eight thousand lunar years of mortals, will remain in the silver age; during which, the fifty-five princes, between VAIVASWATA and RAMA, must have governed the world: but, reckoning thirty years for a generation, which is rather too much for a long succession of eldest sons, as they are said to have been, we cannot, by the course of nature, extend the second age of the Hindoos beyond sixteen hundred and fifty solar years. If we suppose them not to have been eldest sons, and even to have lived longer than modern princes in a dissolute age, we shall find only a period of two thousand years; and, if we remove the difficulty by admitting miracles, we must cease to reason, and may as well believe at once whatever the Brahmins choose to tell us.

"In the lunar pedigree we meet with another absurdity, equally fatal to the credit of the Hindoo system: as far as the twenty-second degree of descent from VAIVASWATA, the synchronism of the two families appears tolerably regular, except that the children of the Moon were not all eldest sons; for King YAYATI appointed

* See these lists in Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 133. A catalogue of mere names could be neither instructive nor amusing to the reader.

the youngest of his five sons to succeed him in India, and allotted inferior kingdoms to the other four, who had offended him: part of the Dacshin, or the south, to YADU, the ancestor of CRISHNA; the north to ANU; the east to DRUHYA; and the west to TURVASU, from whom the Pandits believe, or pretend to believe, in compliment to our nation, that we are descended. But of the subsequent degrees in the lunar line they know so little, that, unable to supply a considerable interval between BHARAT and VITATHA, whom they call his son and successor, they are under a necessity of asserting, that the great ancestor of YUDHISHTHIR actually reigned seven-and-twenty thousand years; a fable of the same class with that of his wonderful birth, which is the subject of a beautiful Indian drama. Now, if we suppose his life to have lasted no longer than that of other mortals, and admit VITATHA and the rest to have been his regular successors, we shall fall into another absurdity; for, then, if the generations in both lines were nearly equal, as they would naturally have been, we shall find YUDHISHTHIR, who reigned confessedly at the close of the brazen age, nine generations older than RAMA, before whose birth the silver age is allowed to have ended. After the name of BHARAT, therefore, I have set an asterisk to denote a considerable chasm in the Indian history, and have inserted between brackets, as out of their places, his twenty-four successors, who reigned, if at all, in the following age, immediately before the war of the Mahabharat. The fourth Avatar, which is placed in the interval between the first and second ages, and the fifth, which soon followed it, appear to be moral fables grounded on historical facts. The fourth was the punishment of an impious monarch by the deity himself bursting from a marble column in the shape of a lion; and the fifth was the humiliation of an arrogant prince, by so contemptible an agent as a mendicant dwarf. After these, and immediately before BUDDHA, come three

great warriors, all named RAMA; but it may justly be made a question, whether they are not three representations of one person, or three different ways of relating the same history; the first and second RAMAS are said to have been contemporary; but whether all or any of them mean RAMA, the son of CUSH, I leave others to determine. The mother of the second RAMA was named CAUSHALYA, which is a derivative of CUSHALA; and though his father be distinguished by the title or epithet of DASARATHA, signifying that *his war-chariot bore him to all quarters of the world*, yet the name of CUSH, as the Cashmirians pronounce it, is preserved entire in that of his son and successor, and shadowed in that of his ancestor VICUCSHI; nor can a just objection be made to this opinion from the nasal Arabian vowel in the word Ramah, mentioned by Moses, since the very word Arab begins with the same letter, which the Greeks and Indians could not pronounce; and they were obliged, therefore, to express it by the vowel which most resembled it. On this question, however, I assert nothing; nor on another which might be proposed, whether the fourth and fifth Avatars be not allegorical stories of the two presumptuous monarchs, NIMROD and BELUS? The hypothesis, that government was first established, laws enacted, and agriculture encouraged, in India by RAMA, about three thousand eight hundred years ago, agrees with the received account of NOAH's death, and the previous settlements of his immediate descendants.

"In the third age we have only nine-and-twenty princes of the solar line between RAMA and VRIHADRANA exclusively; and their reigns, during the whole brazen age, are supposed to have lasted near eight hundred and sixty-four thousand years, a supposition evidently against nature; the uniform course of which allows only a period of eight hundred and seventy, or, at the very utmost, of a thousand, years for twenty-nine generations. PARICSHIT, the great nephew

and successor of YUDHISHTHIR, who had recovered the throne from DURYODHAN, is allowed, without controversy, to have reigned in the interval between the brazen and earthen ages, and to have died at the setting in of the Cali-Yug; so that, if the Pandits of Cashmir and Varanes have made a right calculation of BUDDHA's appearance, the present, or fourth, age must have begun about a thousand years before the birth of Christ; and, consequently, the reign of ICSHWACU could not have been earlier than four thousand years before that great epoch; and even that date will perhaps appear, when it shall be strictly examined, to be nearly two thousand years earlier than the truth. I cannot leave the third Indian age, in which the virtues and vices of mankind are said to have been equal, without observing, that even the close of it is manifestly fabulous and poetical, with hardly more appearance of historical truth than the tale of Troy or of the Argonauts; for, YUDHISHTHIR, it seems, was the son of DHERMA, the genius of justice; BHIMA, of PAVAN, or the god of wind; ARJUN, of INDRA, or the firmament; NACUL and SAHADEVA, of the two CUMARS, the CASTOR and POLLUX of India; and BHISHMA, their reputed great uncle, was the child of GANGA, or the GANGES, by SANTANU, whose brother DEVAPI is supposed to be still alive in the city of Calapa. All which fictions may be charming embellishments of an heroic poem, but are just as absurd in civil history as the descent of two royal families from the Sun and the Moon."

Before I proceed farther in the detail of this chronological essay of the learned president, I must be permitted to make a few observations on the portion which has already been presented to the reader, in confirmation of my own hypothesis, and that our way through the remainder may be more clear and regular.

In the first place, I must remark, that in the preceding statement, our learned chronologist fixes, for the commencement of the Indian

empire, a period distant about *three thousand eight hundred years*, which is very nearly coincident with that on which I have determined for the time of the reign of Bali, or Belus, and whom he himself, in the chronological table hereafter exhibited, states to have flourished precisely three thousand eight hundred and ninety-two years before the date of his essay; a period approaching to within a very few years of our own calculation. In the second place, although we have seen that the Indians are not ignorant of the names of Sharma, Charma, and Japeti, the sons of Noah, their unbounded vanity has led them to select, for the head of their great solar and lunar dynasties, Buddha, in their mythology, a planetary god; though, from the circumstance of his marrying Ila, the daughter of Menu, or Noah, called Ilus by Sanchoniatho, he was doubtless one of the oldest patriarchial sovereigns after the flood, and possibly Ham, or Cham, himself, the real grandfather of Cush, allegorized. By that name he seems to have been anciently known to the foreign historians of Asia; for, from whatever quarter Ctesias, whom Arrian, in his Indian history, chiefly followed, might have obtained his information, Budyas (Βȣδυας) is mentioned as second in order from Bacchus, the first great conqueror of India; and I conceive Bochart's interpretation of that name to be perfectly just, when he derives it from BAR-CHUS, *Chusæi filius*, the son of Chus*. With respect to the identity of Ham, or Cham, and the Indian Buddha, it seems in part to be proved, by the former being the inventor of astronomy in Egypt, their celebrated Hermes, as Buddha is reported to have been in India, and Mercury in the west. These names and this character are uniformly applied to one person; and they point decidedly to the son of Noah; that

* See Arrian in Indicis, p. 321, fol. edit. Gronovii, 1704; and Bochart's Phaleg. lib. i. p. 13, quarto edit. 1674.

Cham, or Charma, as the Indians call him, between whom and his brothers Satyaurata divided the empire of the world, and from whom the whole kingdom of Egypt, one of the finest of the world, was anciently often called Χημια and Ερμα Χυμιος, and in Scripture frequently *Terra Cham*. But, in the third place, if no other objection held good, the very date of the æra of the last sovereign of the solar dynasty, SUMITRA, (2100 years before Christ) precludes all minute discussion concerning their character and exploits in a history aspiring to the denomination of *regular*; though, doubtless, concerning many of them, as Bharata, Judishter, Pandu, Dushmanta, Nahusha, their Dionysius, and Pururâva, whom I can confidently pronounce to be the Greek Porus, all names of most renowned Indian conquerors and sovereigns in far later periods, in the subsequent pages much will occur. In my opinion, those names were selected, by some artful Brahmin chronologist, from dynasties greatly inferior in point of antiquity, and were artfully blended with names utterly fabulous, and characters the mere creatures of invention, to give to the whole fabrication an air of veracity, and establish a chimera on the basis of truth.

Our great oriental chronologist concludes his elaborate dissertation with observing; " On the whole, we may safely close the most authentic system of Hindoo chronology, that I have yet been able to procure, with the death of CHANDRABIJA. Should any farther information be attainable, we shall, perhaps, in due time attain it, either from books or inscriptions in the Sanscreet language; but, from the materials with which we are at present supplied, we may establish as indubitable the two following propositions; that the three first ages of the Hindoos are chiefly mythological, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their astronomers, or on the heroic fictions of their poets; and that the fourth, or historical, age cannot be carried farther back than about two

thousand years before Christ. Even in the history of the present age, the generations of men and the reigns of kings are extended beyond the course of nature, and beyond the average resulting from the accounts of the Brahmins themselves; for, they assign to a hundred and forty-two modern reigns a period of three thousand one hundred and fifty-three years, or about twenty-two years to a reign, one with another; yet they represent only four Canna princes on the throne of Magadha for a period of three hundred and forty-five years. Now it is even more improbable, that four successive kings should have reigned eighty-six years and three months each than that NANDA should have been a king a hundred years, and murdered at last. Neither account can be credited; but, that we may allow the highest probable antiquity to the Hindoo government, let us grant, that three generations of men were equal on an average to a hundred years, and that Indian princes have reigned, one with another, two-and-twenty: then reckoning thirty generations from ARJÚN, the brother of YUDHISHTHIRA, to the extinction of his race, and taking the Chinese account of BUDDHA's birth from M. DE GUIGNES, as the most authentic medium between ABULFAZIL and the Tibetians, we may arrange the corrected Hindoo chronology according to the following table, supplying the word *about* or *nearly* (since perfect accuracy cannot be attained and ought not to be required) before every date.

Abhimanyu, son of ARJUN, year before Christ	2029.
Pradyota	1029.
BUDDHA	1027.
NANDA	699.
Balin	149.
VICRAMADITYA	56.
DEVAPALA, king of Gaur	23.

"Thus have we given a sketch of Indian history through the longest period fairly assignable to it, and have traced the foundation of the Indian empire above three thousand eight hundred years from the present time; but on a subject in itself so obscure, and so much clouded by the fictions of the Brahmins, who, to aggrandize themselves, have designedly raised their antiquity beyond the truth, we must be satisfied with probable conjecture and just reasoning from the best attainable data; nor can we hope for a system of Indian chronology to which no objection can be made, unless the astronomical books in Sanscreet shall clearly ascertain the places of the colures in some precise years of the historical age; not by loose traditions, like that of a coarse observation by Chiron, (who possibly never existed, for, 'he lived,' says Newton, 'in the golden age,' which must long have preceded the Argonautic expedition,) but by such evidence as our own astronomers and scholars shall allow to be unexceptionable *."

There cannot possibly be exhibited more direct or positive proof of the confusion and perplexity in which the whole system of the Indian chronology is involved than is displayed in the preceding statement, by an author, who, if ever any body could, was able to solve the Gordian knot. There are, indeed, certain leading events connected with the history of India, as, for instance, the invasion of the country by Darius, Alexander, and the Mohammedan generals, to which we can, with precision, and from the records of empires that have preserved their annals unviolated, assign incontestable dates: the æras, also, of Vicramaditya and Salbaham, of more recent fabrication, are known and can be ascertained. But, in regard to the more ancient periods, the whole is utter uncertainty and baseless conjecture, from the close combination with their history

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 150.

of those fables and that astronomy, which the Brahmins delight to intermingle with the annals of their primitive sovereigns, and which, however gratifying to the national pride, has poisoned its chronology at the fountain-head. The subsequent table, composed by our author, exhibits that chronology with as much precision as the subject will allow of; and it is my intention to regulate myself by it as nearly as I may be able, though I am of opinion, that BUDDHA, who was an Avatar, and the next in order to Creeshna, should precede PRADYOTA; and for holding that opinion I shall hereafter assign substantial reasons.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

According to one of the HYPOTHESIS *intimated in the preceding tract.*

CHRISTIAN and MUSSULMAN.	HINDOO.	Years from 1788 of our æra.
ADAM	MENU I	5794.
NOAH	MENU II.	4737.
Deluge		4138.
Nimrod	*Hiranyacasipu*	4006.
Bel	*Bali*	3892.
RAMA	RAMA	3817.
Noah's death		3787.
	Pradyota	2817.
	BUDDHA	2815.
	Nanda.	2487.
	Balin	1937.
	Vicramaditya	1844.
	Devapala	1811.

CHRIST		1787.
	Narayanpala	1721.
	Soca	1709.
Walid		1080.
Mahmud		786.
Chengiz		548.
Taimur		391.
Babur		276.
Nadir-Shah		49.

As empires, like planets, must have an epoch from which to commence their career, for the reasons before stated we cannot more judiciously fix that epoch than at the reign of Bali, or Belus, about two thousand two hundred years before the birth of Christ. There are solid grounds for supposing, that the Indians have ingrafted a considerable portion of the history, properly Chaldaic and Persian, on their own. Still, however, those events, which we find making a part of their annals, we must consider as Indian, and detail them accordingly. With these previous observations, I proceed, in the next chapter, to the consideration of the events of the Bamun Avatar, the fifth in order from the Matsya; in which the same Bali is recorded to have been deprived of his newly acquired empire by the interference of the deity for arrogance and presumption.

CHAPTER IV.

Containing Reflections on the remarkable Accomplishment of Satyaurata's Decision respecting the primitive Division of the Earth; and detailing the particular Events of the BAMUN *or* DWARF AVATAR.

AS we have gradually advanced in this historical research, fresh evidence has constantly arisen to strengthen our conjecture, that either Cush himself, or one of his descendants, assuming his name, led the first colony from Shinaar eastward, and peopled India, or, in other words, *the continent of Cush*. Egypt, also, we have seen, was taken possession of by detachments of the same warlike tribe, to the expulsion of the amiable and unoffending race of the Sharmicas, or Shemites, who are considered in India, according to Mr. Wilford, as Devatas, or good genii. The name, as well as ferocious character, of the Kutheri, or Kattri, tribe, called Cuthæi by the Greek historians, seems to prove that cast to be the lineal descendants of the former. By the Sharmicas, the same line of argument induces us to believe the peaceful and religious tribe of Brahmins was intended to be designated; and it is remarkable, that in the division of the earth by Satyaurata, while to the progeny of Jyapeti, or Japhet, were allotted all the regions to the north of the *snowy mountains*, or Caucasus, to the Sharmicas were assigned all the districts south of those mountains. To Charma, no specific portion was assigned; for his vicious conduct he was doomed to be the *slave of his brothers*. In direct opposition, however, to the holy patriarchal injunction, the Cuthite line of Charm, by force of arms, seized upon

THE BAMUN AVATAR,

PLATE III.



Barlow sculp.

representing the magnificent BALI *or* BELUS *giving away the arrogated Empire of the World, to the disguised* VEESHNU.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Mornington, Governor General of Bengal, this plate is with ardent Gratitude for his unsolicited patronage, respectfully inscribed by T. M.

the portion of the Sharmicas, both in India and in Egypt, and kept them in subjection during the first ages. Still the prediction was fulfilled; for, in India, and in the sixth Avatar, we shall find, that the deity, descending in the form of PARASU RAMA, totally extirpated the Kuttri race of kings, and gave their usurped empire to the Brahmins; while, in Egypt, the Sharmicas, under the name of PALLIS, or *dynasty of shepherd-kings*, dethroned and exterminated the race of earliest Cuthite usurpers. In the line of Japhet, the Scythians, the patriarchal mandate remains completely verified, and the uncounted millions of human savages, that tenant the burning deserts of Africa, have ever been and still are in the first instance, the slaves of the Sharmicas, or Shemites, of Persia and Arabia, and, in the second, of the European progeny of Japhet. The history of Bali, which we are now to detail, forms a link of the great chain, connecting the history of the two great empires of the ancient world, Assyria and India.

The BAMUN Avatar, as before observed, exhibits to us the instructive lesson of imperial pride and arrogance humbled by so insignificant an instrument as a mendicant dwarf. Mahali, or Maha-Bali, that is, the great Bali, had, by the usual means, (severe austerities,) obtained from Brahma, the sovereignty of the universe, or the three regions of the sky, the earth, and Patala. He was a generous and magnificent monarch; he did not oppress his subjects, nor was he guilty of any other great crimes. His ruling passion seems to have been an unwarrantable pride, that led him to look down on all created beings with supreme contempt; at the same time, he neglected to pay proper homage and render their due oblations to the Devatas. In short, in the skies he would acknowledge no superior; on the earth, he would allow of no equal; and he boasted, that, by this unlimited extent of his power, he could control even the infernal regions, and precipitate his enemies to the

abyss of hell. The Devatas, or at least their priests for them, were dreadfully incensed at being deprived of their rights, the honey, the clarified butter, the delicious fruits, and other rich offerings, that used to load their altars; and, in consequence, the former applied to Veeshnu, through the mediation of Brahma, for redress. As the principal crime laid to his charge was the defrauding of those Devatas, exact retribution was resolved on in heaven, and he was doomed to be deprived of his crown, also by a species of harmless fraud, which, it seems, the Indian deity did not think it beneath him to practise on this occasion. Veeshnu, descending for this purpose, became incarnate in the house of a Brahmin, venerable for years and piety, and assuming the contemptible form of a dwarf, ill apparelled, and apparently destitute of all human possessions, presented himself in a supplicating posture before the arrogant monarch just at the period in which he had been displaying his accustomed pomp at a banquet of unbounded magnificence; but at which he had again insulted heaven by not offering the usual tithe to the ministers of the sovereign deity who bestows all things. Bali, admiring the singularity of his figure, and smiling at his deformity, but at the same time compassionating his distress, bade him ask whatsoever he desired, and his request should be granted. Bamun, with respectful diffidence, solicited only a small spot of ground, three paces in length, for the purpose of erecting upon it a hut sufficiently large to contain himself, his books, his umbrella, and the drinking-cup and staff, which the Brahmins usually carry with them. Bali, astonished at the modesty of his request, advised him by no means to limit his demand within such narrow bounds; told him that all the kingdoms of the world were at his disposal, and that he need not be afraid of intruding upon his generosity, even though he should request ground sufficient for the erection of a large palace. "A Brahmin," replied the artful deity, "has no occasion for

a splendid palace: his real wants are few, and by them his desires should be regulated. Only swear that you will grant me this humble request, and my utmost ambition is gratified." Bali, being about to confirm his promise to the mistrustful Brahmin by the usual ceremony of an oath in Hindostan, the pouring out of water from a vessel upon the hand of the person to whom it is given, (according to the representation in the accompanying plate,) was interrupted by the planet Venus, a male deity in India, who whispered him, that the apparently-miserable mendicant before him was Veeshnu in disguise, and exhorted him to be cautious to what he pledged his solemn oath. The high-minded monarch, however, disdaining to deviate from his word, confirmed his promise with the required oath; and, bidding him stretch forth his hand, poured out upon it the sacred wave that ratified it. As the water, in a full stream, descended upon his extended hand, the form of Bamun gradually increased in magnitude, till it became of such enormous dimensions that reached up to heaven. Then, with one stride he measured the vast globe of the earth; with the second, the ample expanse of heaven; and with the third, was going to compass the regions of Patala; when Bali, convinced that it was even Veeshnu himself, fell prostrate and adored him; yielding him up, without any farther exertion, the free possession of the third region of the universe. Veeshnu then took the reigns of government into his own hands; and, as an order of things, different from what had prevailed in the Satya, was to commence with the Treta-Yug, he new modelled human society: for, whereas in the former, or perfect, age, all property was equally distributed among the members of each of the great tribes, and in those tribes there was no disparity of rank or degree, he divided them into various subordinate classes, according to their talents and virtues, in an age, in which it is the belief of the Brahmins, that *one third part of mankind became reprobate;* conse-

quently, by no means to be distinguished by the privileges, or continued in the possession of the advantages, enjoyed by an age when perfection universally reigned. In this Avatar, a circumstance, evidently allusive to Maha-Bali's character as an astronomer, and to the constellation Orion, in which his father, and possibly himself, was canonized, ought not to be omitted. While Veeshnu was extending his foot to take in the heavenly portion of his domain, and while Maha-Bali, at length convinced who was the august person that had defrauded him of his empire, remained prostrate in humble adoration, the god Brahma came, and pouring water on the foot thus extended, it was instantly converted into the great and rapid river Ganges, which, in their mythology and on their sphere, is actually represented as gushing from the foot of Veeshnu. Now I would wish to ask any of those critics, who are so loud in accusing me of system, for exalting the Hindoo astronomers as the original fabricators of the sphere, and stating the Greeks to be their servile copyists, by what chance comes it to pass, that the Greek asterism Eridanus, or their sphere, is also made to flow from the left foot of Orion? Surely to the elder nation, in time and science, is due the credit of the invention; and, when we find the fact, as it is found, described in their oldest Pooraums, and forming a part of the history of the Avatars, sculptured in the pagodas most venerated for their sanctity and antiquity, even incredulity itself can scarcely deny to the Brahmins the honour claimed for them in this, as well as in many other very curious and striking particulars. With respect to Maha-Bali himself, because he had not oppressed his subjects, though he had despised the gods, his crown was not wholly taken from him, but he was left for the remainder of his life in the possession of Patala, the inferior regions; and, as Patala was supposed to be on the south, because directly opposite to the north pole, where the Hindoo heaven and the palace of Veeshnu is placed;

this circumstance may imply his deposition and banishment from Cashmere and the higher regions of Hindostan to the remote southern districts of the peninsula, where, in fact, we shall presently find ample remains both of his name and his exploits. After his decease, since his repentance was deep and sincere, Veeshnu informed him that he should be received up into heaven, and be placed there in a conspicuous and elevated situation, from which he might occasionally overlook those former subjects who had been so much the objects of his regal care. Maha-Bali, having also discovered considerable concern lest certain annual institutions, greatly to their advantage, which he had in the plenitude of his power ordained, should not be properly kept up, to quiet his apprehensions on that score, the deity farther decreed, that he should have permission once a year, *on the full moon in the month of November*, to revisit earth, and see in person that they were faithfully observed.

Whosoever the Bali, alluded to in this Avatar, may have been, whether of Chaldæan, or merely Indian, origin, the name occurs repeatedly in the pages of the future history, and particularly in that of a celebrated dynasty, established at a very early period on the eastern coast of the peninsula, whose capital, according to a former quotation from Mr. Chambers, was Mavalipuram; which word is only a corruption by the transmutation of *b* into *v*, and the final addition *am*, usual on that coast, of Mahabalipoor, or the city of the great Bali. This city is described in the Brahmin books to have been of an immense extent, abounding with magnificent palaces and stately pagodas, long since swallowed up by the waves of the incroaching ocean, except one most august fabric, covered with sculptures of a gigantic size, representing the Avatars, and oldest Indian mythology, hewn out of the solid rock, and known to mariners by the name of the *seven pagodas*. The gilded sum-

mits, however, of other pagodas, submerged in its bed, have been, within the memory of the ancient inhabitants of the place, visible at low water. The city, whose ruins may thus be observed, must undoubtedly have been modern compared with the times to which I allude; yet we know it has been immemorially the custom of the Indians to build cities successively on or near the ruins of the venerated abode of their ancestors; as Delhi, for instance, ancient and modern, on those of Hastinapoor, and Lucknow on those of Owd. That the etymology of the name is rightly derived, he endeavours to prove by the circumstance, adds Mr. Chambers, that Bali is the name of a hero very famous in Hindoo legends, and so well known in those regions, that the river Mavaligonga, which waters the eastern side of Ceylone, has probably taken its name from him; since, according to the Tamulian orthography, it means the Ganges of the great Bali*. But that which places it beyond all controversy is the genealogy of Bali, to be met with at the close of a history of the former Avatar, cited in his dissertation by Mr. Chambers, from Sanscreet authority, which expressly says, that the virtuous Pralhaud, having been seated by Veeshnu on the throne of his deceased father Hiranyacasipu, reigned with mildness, and by his piety exhibited a perfect contrast to the character of his father; that he himself left a son, named NAMACHEE, who inherited both his power and his virtues, and was the father of Bali, the founder of Mahabalipoor: a city so ancient as to be mentioned in two lines of the Mahabbarat, which expressly fix its situation to have been

South of the Ganges two hundred yogan,
Five yogan westward from the eastern sea †.

The yogan, taken at its lowest calculation, is a measure of nine miles; and, by the latter line, the Brahmins seem willing to incul-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 147. † Ibid. p. 155.

cate, that the sea has receded from that coast forty-five miles, and which may probably be as precisely true as the former, which, according to that calculation, would place it far south of Ceylone. That a considerable recession, however, of the waters of the ocean has taken place is extremely probable, and, indeed, evident to the eye that only superficially contemplates this spot of stupendous ruins.

Of the race of Bal there also anciently existed a famous dynasty of Rajahs in the northern region of Hindostan. They were sovereigns of Lahore for many centuries prior to the Mohammedan irruptions, and there we find them, at the period of those irruptions, recorded by the Arabian historians to have been possessed of an empire extending from Cashmere, in the north, to the borders of the southern ocean; themselves distinguished by the highest personal bravery, and their armies remarkable for their number and discipline. For, thus is the sovereign of Lahore described by M. D'Herbelot, citing those historians. He calls him *le plus puissant roi de l'Hindostan;* and, in another place, *Bal, fils d'Andbal, estimé le plus riche et le plus puissant roi de tout l'Hindostan.* From them, also, the Rajahs of Delhi, of the name of Bal, are stated to have been lineally descended; and no less than twenty princes, under this denomination, are said, in the Ayeen Akbery*, to have enjoyed its throne for 437 years in regular succession. In short, the word Balhara, immemorially used to denote the sovereign potentate of all India, proves the great antiquity and celebrity of this family, and may be adduced as no small testimony of their original descent from the great post-diluvian chieftain above alluded to .The fable, also, of the destruction of his capital by an inundation caused by the immediate mandate of the gods, naturally inclines us to suspect

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 118.

these allegorists of confounding a deluge, which subverted a great city, with a greater deluge, which inundated the whole earth.

ASTRONOMICAL AND MORAL ALLUSION OF THE BAMUN AVATAR.

ON the supposition, which is at least exceedingly probable, that the Indian Bali is the same person with the Baal of Scripture and the Belus of profane history, and that a considerable portion of the events, properly belonging to the life of his father Nimrod, also called both Cush and Belus, are engrafted on his sons, the astronomical allusion of this Avatar will be clearly intelligible; and, as to the moral, it is throughout noble and impressive. *Sovereign of the skies* is an expression not inaptly applied to an astronomer of those days, who, intimately acquainted with the motions and revolutions of the heavenly bodies, was thought to command their influences, and might mythologically be said to be BAALSAMIN, or *the lord of heaven*. That high and arrogant opinion of themselves and contempt both of divine and human power, arising from a fancied acquaintance with the physical mysterious operations of nature, in this Avatar attributed to Maha-Bali, continues, it is to be lamented, too much even to this day the vice of astronomers; and their punishment in so signal a manner, and by such a contemptible instrument, was intended to serve as an awful lesson to nations so devoted, as were those of Asia, to the Sabian idolatries. By his being banished to Patala, I have hazarded the only explanation which I conceive to be consistent and rational; for, after all that has been said on the subject, it is not impossible, but that the Hindoo geographers, by the *three regions* allotted to all their more potent sovereigns, may allegorically mean to designate the

upper, middle, and lower, regions of that vast portion of Asia; especially if we regulate our decisions by the oldest Sanscreet division of the country, which unites Asia to Sancha-Dweepa, or Egypt, of a part of which Sanchanaga, the *great serpent*, was king, and governed a race of serpents. Hence, probably, the south was allegorically called Patala; for, we have seen that Patala is in truth the Hindoo hell; a hell composed of the most venomous of those reptiles. The Sanscreet writings constantly speak with horror of Egypt, that is, the Lower Egypt, then newly flooded by the waters of the deluge, and long undrained and uncultivated by the first monarchs who, we find, from the Sanscreet name of Egypt, lived in rocks, formed of, or rather resembling, shells, and on the eminences of the highest mountains. Mr. Wilford, citing those writings, says, that the Nila, "having passed the great ridge, enters Cardamasthan or *the land of mud;* which obviously means the fertile Egyptian valley, so long covered with mud after every inundation. The Poorauns give a dreadful idea of that muddy land, and assert that no mortal durst approach it. But this we must understand as the opinion formed of it by the first colonists, who were alarmed by the reptiles and monsters abounding in it, and had not yet seen the beauty and richness of its fertile state." Again our learned author observes, "that royal, or king, serpent is also called SANCHAMUCHA, because his mouth was like that of a shell; and the same denomination is given to the rocks on which he dwelt. The mountains of snakes are mentioned by the Nubian geographer, and are to this day called Hubab; which, in Arabic, means a snake in general, according to JAUHERI, and a particular species of serpent, according to MAIDANI. The same region was named Ophiusa by the Greeks, who sometimes extended that appellation to the whole African continent. The breath of Sanchanaga is believed by the Hindoos to be a fiery poisonous wind, which burns

and destroys animals and vegetables, to the distance of a hundred yojans round the place of his residence; and by this hypothesis they account for the dreadful effect of the *samum*, or hot envenomed wind, which blows from the mountains of Hubab through the whole extent of the desert."

With respect to that peculiar circumstance, recorded in the above Avatar, that Bali, after his exaltation to heaven, that is the sphere, (the Hindoo heaven,) should have permission to overlook his vast empire, and even revisit the earth on the *full of the moon in the month of November*, it exhibits still stronger additional testimony of the connection of their astronomical and civil history. Orion, it will be remembered, is one of the largest and most brilliant constellations of the north pole, that conspicuously overlooks the Higher Asia; and Mr. Sonnerat* informs us, that in November, the Hindoos celebrate, by a splendid festival, this conquest of Bali by Veeshnu: they light up vast fires on that day, and illuminate their houses by night; because, they assert, Bali instituted the feasts of fire, that is *the solstitial fires*; like those which the Druids anciently lighted up at the solstices in these kingdoms, a custom derived to them from their ancestors, the Belidæ; in truth, the immediate descendants of this very Bali. The Persians, too, according to Mr. Richardson, in the following extract, have immemorially kept up towards the close of the year, a feast of fire, with the addition of a very curious ceremony, practised in regard to the bestial train, which must have originated in very remote and barbarous æras; æras probably remote as that in which the Nimrod of Scripture, whom the Alexandrian Chronicle acknowledges to be the Orion of the sphere, and even Homer himself represents, under the latter

* Sonnerat's Voyages, vol. i. p. 140. Calcutta edition.

name, as *hunting wild beasts in hell*, extended the scourge of despotism over the slaves of Asia*.

"The anniversary of the great festival of fire among the ancient Persians was called Sheb-Seze, when their temples were illuminated, and large piles of fire blazed all over the kingdom; round which the people entertained themselves all night with choral dances, and various amusements peculiar to the season. Amongst other ceremonies common on this occasion, there was one which, whether it originated in superstition or caprice, seems to have been singularly cruel and pernicious. The kings and great men used to set fire to large bunches of dry combustibles, fastened round wild beasts and birds, which being then let loose, the air and earth appeared one great illumination; and, as those terrified creatures naturally fled to the woods for shelter, it is very easy to conceive that conflagrations, which would often happen, must have been peculiarly destructive, where a people considered the extinguishing of fire by water as one of the highest acts of impiety†."

The reason of this feast being kept in India in November arose, probably, because Orion, setting *cosmically in that month*, was thought by the ancient astronomers to engender storms and tempests; whence that constellation is called, by the Roman poets, Nimbosus, Sævus, Infestus; and the observance of his institution at that particular period might be intended to soften the malignity and avert the vengeance of the genius of that orb.

* Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 85. See also this History, vol. i. p. 361.
† Richardson's Dissertations, p. 185.

CHAPTER V.

Containing the History of the Sixth Indian Avatar; which exhibits Veeshnu incarnate in the form of PARASU-RAMA, *by whom the Rajahs of the Race of the Sun are, for their impiety, extirpated.*

I SHALL commence the history of the events of the two next Avatars, comprehending the history of two powerful sovereigns bearing the name of RAMA, by citing the decided opinion concerning them of the author, upon the basis of whose profound researches into the ancient annals of India I have all along proceeded, and shall continue to proceed, as the most firm and safe guide by which to regulate my own inquiry and the reader's judgement. Sir William Jones, in his Supplement to the Indian Chronology, after repeating, from various and increased evidence, his confirmed opinion that the Mosaic and Indian chronologies are perfectly consistent; that MENU, son of BRAHMA, was the Adima, or first created mortal, and consequently our ADAM; that MENU, child of the Sun, was preserved, with *seven* others, in a bahitra, or capacious ark, from an universal deluge, and must therefore be our NOAH; and that HYRANYACASIPU, the giant with a golden axe, and BALI, were impious and arrogant monarchs, and, most probably, our NIMROD and BELUS; adds, that he is strongly inclined to believe, that the three Ramas, two of whom were invincible warriors, and the third, not only valiant in war, but the patron of agriculture and wine, which derives an epithet from his name, were only three different representations of the Grecian Bacchus, and either the Rama of

THE SIXTH AVATAR.

PLATE IV.



or VEESHNU *incarnate in* PARASA RAMA, *the Exterminator of the* KHETTRI TRIBE.

To the Right Reverend Edward, Lord Bishop of Oxford, this plate is with grateful respect inscribed by

T. M.

Scripture, or his colony personified, or the Sun, first adored by his idolatrous family*.

From the striking parallel circumstances that mark their respective lives, it is evident to me, that we shall immediately and unequivocally discover, in India, the prototypes of both the Grecian Bacchus and Hercules. According to Arrian†, fifteen ages had elapsed between the reign of the Indian Bacchus and the Indian Hercules. On the supposition, therefore, that Rama, the son of Cush, or, as Bochart has it, BAR-CHUS, be, as is most probable, the true Bacchus of India, so there is the strongest reason to conclude that, by their Hercules, Creeshna, whose Avatar is the eighth in order, and whose life comprises the greater part of the more distinguished adventures of the Grecian Bacchus, was intended to be designated. In proposing this conjecture, I advance, on the ground of argument often proceeded on before in this History, that, of two empires adopting the same train of mythologic reasoning, the credit of inventing, at least, if not of possessing, the prototypal character is the undoubted right of the elder; in truth, that the one exhibits the original without disguise, the other the obscured and mutilated copy. I shall endeavour faithfully to delineate that original in both instances, and leave the result to the unbiassed judgment of the reader.

Hitherto there has appeared an evident mixture of the Chaldæan with the Indian history. But in the history of the two Ramas, who were both natives of Hindostan, the occurrences concern India alone. We are still, however, in the region of fable, and genii and other invisible agents continue their operations on the historic drama. Indeed, the martial exploits of these warriors were of such an un-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 401.

† Arrian in Indicis, p. 323, edit. Gronovius, 1704.

common nature, that, without such assistance, it was impossible they could be carried on. Let it ever be remembered, too, that they are exerted on the side of justice and virtue, and that the Indian Avatars are nothing more than the deity incarnate in brave and generous men, combating with gigantic oppression, and confounding the projects of daring ambition.

The first of these heroic Ramas is called Parasu-Rama, to distinguish him from the second, who has the appellative Chandra added to his name. This latter, as a conqueror, legislator, and reformer of public abuses, was still more famous than his predecessor, and it is on him in particular that the character of the Indian Bacchus is bestowed, on account of the wonderful similitude which many events of his life bore to those of the conqueror of that name celebrated in Egypt under the name of Osiris, and in Greece by that of Dionysius. Our concern at present is with the elder of these heroes. Parasu-Rama was the son of a most illustrious and holy Brahmin, of the name of JAMADAGNI, who, though allied to the blood royal of India, had adopted the garb and manners of an anchorite, and devoted his time to prayer and austerities in the solitude of a cell on Mount Heemachel, or Imaus, where he day and night fervently worshipped the Deity. His wife, whose name, according to the Ayeen Akbery, was RUNEEKA, had retired with him: and the reason of their thus secluding themselves from human society was, that Veeshnu, propitiated by the mortifications they endured, might grant them the desire of their hearts, a boon without which a married Hindoo is ever miserable, OFFSPRING. One day, when a long series of intense penitentiary severities had unusually purified the mortal frame, and rendered it more proper for intercourse with Deity, Veeshnu appeared to Runeeka in the form of a handsome child, and asked her, what was the object of the unrelenting austerities practised by herself and her husband? She an-

swered, that we may obtain of heaven a child beautiful and amiable as thou art. Your wishes are granted, said Veeshnu; you shall have a son, who, to every bodily perfection, shall unite the noblest virtues of the soul. He shall be the avenger of innocence, and the exterminator of tyrants. Having said this, he disappeared; and in due time the prediction was fulfilled by the birth of Rama. In reward, too, of their exemplary piety, Eendra, the prince of the celestial regions, intrusted to their care the wonderful cow Kam-deva, which had the property of yielding from her dugs whatsoever the possessor desired. Notwithstanding this enviable attainment, they used their good fortune with moderation, and continued in their cell and in their usual practice of penitentiary duties. In the mean time young Rama increased in years and beauty, and shewed such symptoms of dawning talents and virtues, that his fame reached Mahadeo himself, whose palace is on the summit of Mount Kilass, and the god himself undertook his education.

It happened that a prince of the Ditye tribe, or race of malignant genii, at that time very much oppressed the inhabitants of Hindostan. His name was Deeruj; he is represented as having a thousand arms, the expressive symbol of gigantic power and cruelty, and he particularly made war against the Reyshees, or holy tribe, whose devotions he interrupted, and whose persons he insulted. This sanguinary despot, on a hunting excursion, happening one day to pass near the cell of Jamadagni, had the curiosity to enter it, and instantly demanded for himself and numerous suite those refreshments which their fatigue required. To his astonishment and that of his attendants, a table was instantly and sumptuously spread, exhibiting the most delicious meats and the richest wines, and that in such abundance, that the appetites of the whole cavalcade were completely satiated. After the entertainment, the hermit presented the monarch and his company with magnificent dresses, and jewels

of inestimable beauty and value. The prince was so overwhelmed with surprise at this immense display of wealth in the cell of a secluded hermit, that, conceiving the whole to be the effect of magic, he at first refused to accept the presents, and sternly demanded by what means, from what quarter, he had obtained riches which far exceeded those of the greatest sovereigns, and in what subterraneous recess they were concealed. The holy man answered, that Eendra, the monarch of the upper regions, had, at Mahadeo's desire, and in reward of his austerities, intrusted to his care Kam-deva, the cow of plenty, whose dugs were the inexhaustible mine whence his treasures proceeded. On receiving this information, the all-grasping tyrant was on fire to possess himself of the wonderful cow, and eagerly pressed the hermit to bestow upon him the mine as well as the treasure, The sage replied, that was impossible; for, it was the property of Eendra, and, without the consent of that deity, Kam-deva could not be removed, nor would any force on earth avail to tear her from the spot. This intelligence filled him with rage, and his avarice became proportionably inflamed. He now determined to seize the sacred cow, and ordered his followers to surround the hut, and bear her away by force. But cows of celestial origin are not to be thus easily captured; for, on a signal from the hermit, Kam-deva magnified herself to three times her usual bulk, and rushing upon the rajah's troops with irresistible impetuosity, with her horns and hoofs she gored and trampled down the greatest part of them, put the rest to flight, and then, before them all, flew up triumphantly to the heaven of Eendra, her master. The tyrant, enraged at the slaughter and discomfiture of his troops, immediately raised a great army, and marching to the spot whence he had been obliged so disgracefully to retire, and Kam-deva being no longer on earth to defend her keeper, the holy anchorite was cruelly massacred, and his hut razed to the ground.

Runeeka, collecting together from the ruins whatever was combustible, piled it in a heap, on which she placed her husband's mangled body; then, ascending it herself, according to the laws of her country, set fire to it, and was with it consumed to ashes. In the mean time Kam-deva, in her journey to the paradise of Eendra, stopped at Kylass, Seeva's metropolis, to inform Parasu-Rama, then about twelve years old, of the base and cruel conduct of Deeruj to his parents, to whose aid he immediately flew, but arrived only time enough to view the smoking embers of the funeral pile. The tears rushed down his lovely face, and he swore by the waters of the Ganges, that he would never rest till he had exterminated the whole race of Kettris, the rajah-tribe of India.

Armed with the invincible energy of an incarnate god, he immediately commenced his career of just vengeance, by seeking and putting to death, with his single arm, the Ditye tyrant, with all the forces that surrounded him. He then marched from province to province, and from city to city, every where exerting the unerring bow, Danook, and devoting the Kettris to that death which the enormity of their crimes merited. In vain they resisted, singly or united; alike unavailing were open force and secret fraud; they were discomfited in every quarter, and thus the avowed end of this, as well as all the other Avatars, was effectually answered, which are declared to be descents of the Deity, at certain stated intervals, for the express purpose of rooting out vice and impiety, especially if exalted on thrones, when more than usually predominant, from the face of the earth. This instructive moral should always be borne in memory while we peruse them; it tends to render them more intelligible to the European reader, and to throw a veil over the mythological absurdities that obscure and disgrace them.

The conclusion of this Avatar states, that the divine Parasu,

having fought and vanquished the Kettris in twenty pitched battles, and having utterly extirpated the race of the solar rajahs, collected together in one mass their accumulated treasures; he then performed the *great sacrifice*, and, after consecrating a due proportion to the Deity, distributed the remainder in charity. He then restored the empire of the three regions to the Devatas, or good spirits, that is, established a new dynasty of just and wise sovereigns of the Brahmin line, and retired to the Gaut mountains, concerning which this Avatar contains a remarkable fact, often insisted upon by those who contend for the eternal duration of the earth and the great revolutions effected by the successive changes of water into land, and land into water. The romantic story is as follows:

The Brahmins, wishing to assign a very ancient, if not an infinite, date to their empire, assert that the sea once *washed the foot of the Gauts*, from which it is now distant above one hundred miles, and have contrived this ingenious fable to sanction their assertions. After having transferred the empire to their particular tribe, Parasu-Rama requested of them a small portion of that empire, in which he might end his days in undisturbed tranquillity; which request, it seems, they thought proper to deny; a circumstance very inconsistent and improbable, but the fable required it; for, it was in consequence of this denial that Parasu retired to the Gauts. Being thus ungratefully treated by those whom he had exalted to wealth and dominion, he applied to Varuna, the god of the ocean, which then *beat against the base of those mountains*, and solicited that deity to withdraw his waves a little from the shore, and leave a vacant space, sufficient for an exiled prince to inhabit; he desired no greater extent of ground than an arrow would fly over. Varuna, ignorant of the real character that conversed with him, and compassionating his situation, granted a request which appeared so

moderate; and it was settled, that the following morning, an arrow, directed from the bow of Parasu, should determine the limits of his future dominion. Unfortunately for Parasu, one of those penitentiary saints, whose eyes pervade the disguises of even the gods, by his power, knew and discovered to Varuna that the exiled prince was Veeshnu himself, who, having by three strides defrauded Bali of the sovereignty of the universe, would undoubtedly, by the strenuous vigour of a divine arm, dart the arrow to an extent that would deprive him of all the land over which his waters rolled. Varuna now lamented the precipitate promise he had given, but declared it was irrevocable. It was finally resolved by artifice to counteract power, and the god of death was resorted to in this dreadful emergency. That deity kindly promised his assistance; and, instantly assuming the form of a white ant, an insect peculiar to India, under the cover of the night, crept into Veeshnu's apartment, and, while the deity lay sunk in slumber, with his sharp teeth he so nearly gnawed asunder the string of the bow, that it became impossible for the arrow to be hurled to any great distance. The scheme succeeded; nor could the arm of Veeshnu avail to send it beyond the limits of the tract which forms the present country of Malabar, and which, therefore, the Brahmins affect to say is the gift of Veeshnu in this Avatar. The whole story, however, is so unconnected with it, and so contrary to its general tenor, that we may safely consider it as an artful interpolation, for the purpose of national aggrandizement. It is added, that Parasu, reflecting on the ingratitude of the Brahmins, uttered a dreadful curse against them on this spot, and that none of the Brahmin tribe are to be found to this day inhabiting a coast which they consider as proscribed to their order. The Hindoo legends affirm, that Parasu-Rama is still living on this coast; and the Ayeen Ak-

bery informs us, they shew his habitation on the mountain of Mehinder*.

The sublime epic poem, called the Ramayan, in which the battles of all the three Ramas (for, a third called Bali-Rama, the elder brother Creeshna, is often numbered among the Avatars) with their adversaries are circumstantially described, having not yet been translated from the Sanscreet original†, it is not in my power at present to enter into any more particular detail concerning the adventures of this first who bore the name, nor to compare it with the Dionysiaca of Nonnus. I understand that the indefatigable Mr. Wilford is engaged on the subject; a circumstance which must give real pleasure to all admirers of Eastern literature, as he possesses oriental erudition fully adequate to the investigation. In this gentleman's Essay on Egypt and the Nile, there is a fragment relating to Parasu-Rama, extracted from the sacred books of India, from which we learn, that he extended his conquests even to Egypt.

"Parasu-Rama, the son of Jamadagni, but supposed, afterwards, to have been a portion of the divine essence in a human form, was enraged at the success of the confederates, (*viz.* the confederate princes, who had come from Egypt to assist the rajahs by whom his father was murdered,) and circulated a public declaration, that Naréd had urged him to extirpate them entirely; assuring him, that the people of Cusha-Dweepa, who dwelt in the hollows of mountains, were carnivorous; and that their king Cravyadadhipeti, or chief ruler of cannibals, had polluted both earth and water, which were two of the eight forms of Isa, with the mangled limbs and

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 239. Sonnerat, vol. i. p. 29.

† This was written in 1798: it has been since translated and published, and to that translation I must refer the reader for minute particulars.

blood of the strangers whom he and his abominable subjects had cruelly devoured. After this proclamation, Parasu-Rama invaded Cusha-Dweepa, and attacked the army of Cravyadadhipeti, who stepped from the ranks, and challenged him to single combat. They began with hurling rocks at each other; and Rama was nearly crushed under a mountain, thrown by his adversary; but, having disengaged himself, he darted huge serpents, which enfolded the giant in an inextricable maze, and at length destroyed him. The blood of the monster formed the Lohita-Chanda, and that of his army the Lohitoda, or river with bloody waters. His friend, Caiceya, whom the Greeks call Orontes, renewed the fight, and was also slain. Then came the king of the Cutila-Cesas, and Mahasyama, ruler of the Syama-Muchas, and usually residing in Arvasthan, or Arabia; the former of whom I conceive to be Blemys; and the second Arabus, whom the Greek mythologists also named Orobandas and Oruandes. They fought a long time with valour, but were defeated; and, on their humiliating themselves and imploring forgiveness, were allowed to retire, with the remains of their army, to the banks of the Cali, where they settled; while Parasu-Rama, having terminated the war in Cusha-Dweepa, returned to his own country, where he was destined to meet with adventures yet more extraordinary.

"This legend is told nearly in the same manner by the poet Nonnus, a native of Egypt, who says, that, after the defeat of Lycurgus, the Arabs yielded, and offered sacrifices to Bacchus; a title corrupted from Bhagavat, or *the preserving power*, of which a ray, or portion, had become incarnate in the person of Parasu-Rama. He relates, that 'Blemys, with curled hair, chief of the ruddy, or Erythrean, Indians, held up a bloodless olive-branch with the supplicating troops, and bowed a servile knee to Dionysos, who had slain his Indian subjects: that the god, beholding him bent to the

ground, took him by the hand and raised him, but conveyed him, together with his many-tongued people, far from the dark Erythrean Indians, to the skirt of Arabia; that he dwelt in that happy region, near to the contiguous ocean, and gave a name to the inhabitants of its towns; but the rapid Blemys passed onward to the mouth of the Nile, with seven branches, destined to be cotemporary ruler over the people of Ethiopia; and that the low ground of Etherian Meroë received him as a chief, who should leave his name to the Blemyes born in subsequent ages.*"

I know not whether some of my readers may not be so insensible to the charms of the Indian historic muse, as to rejoice that the Ramayan has not yet been translated; for, certainly, inflated accounts of the combats of giants hurling rocks†, and darting huge serpents at one another, and of monsters, whose blood, spouting forth in torrents, is formed into considerable rivers, are not very consistent with the sober and dignified page of history; yet, had the Ramayan been translated, those accounts must have engrossed no inconsiderable portion of this volume. I scarcely know whether I shall be pardoned even for inserting the long life of the Indian god Creeshna, from the Pooraums; but, as Creeshna is the most distinguished of all the Avatars, or rather, say the Brahmins, as Creeshna was the deity himself in human person, while all the other Avatars enjoyed only a portion of the divinity, and as it will be the last insertion of the kind of any length in this History, I hope to stand excused, while I detail a life so replete with prodigies. The early date, however, of these productions should always be considered, and the

* Dionysica, b. xvii. ver. 385-397.

† As many detached parts of the narration may be found in Abraham Rogers, it is not impossible but that Milton, who was living when that book was published, enriched his Paradise Lost, especially his sixth book, which describes the battle of the Angels, with images drawn from it, since many of them are strikingly similar.

barbarous times to which they relate: the exaggerated narration and facts are, perhaps, the truest test of their genuineness.

There is no particular astronomical allusion in the brief portion of this Avatar, which I have alone been able to present the reader with, though undoubtedly there is in the original Sanscreet volumes. The moral, however, is manifest in every line of the preceding account. It holds out, as do all the Avatars, an awful lesson to vicious princes, but was intended more immediately to display to us the signal punishment of *avarice* and *extortion*, and the just vengeance that ought to follow every infringement of the rules of *hospitality*, especially in those Eastern countries, where, as its rites are more imperiously necessary, so the violation of them is more flagitiously criminal. The account of the extirpation of the Kettri tribe, to make way for the Brahmins to empire, is doubtless founded on some historic fact, the remembrance of which is traditionally preserved in the families of the Brahmin cast, and it in some degree explains the singular phenomenon, that in Hindostan, a country where the laws are represented as immutable, and where the distinction of the casts is, in general, so acutely observed, so many of the most powerful and venerated rajahs are Brahmins by descent.

Thus have we reached the close of the sixth Indian Avatar, in which we find India described as a country possessed by a civilized industrious race, obedient to their princes, and, whatever may have been the conduct of those princes themselves, pious and moral, in a very early age after the deluge. Having now devoted so large a portion to Sanscreet narration, blended as it is with physical and metaphysical chimæras, it is but just, as we have already gone through more than *half of the Avatars*, that we should attend to the ancient accounts, which, from the writers whom we denominate CLASSICAL, have descended down to posterity, relative to the infant

state of that empire, and the invasion of it by Dionysius and other conquerors. In these, though there may be nearly as much fable as in the domestic narrative, I shall yet faithfully detail them, and in the order they are reported to have taken place, as I consider myself bound to omit nothing of importance connected with the ancient history of India. The account of the Egyptian irruptions into India, as detailed by classical writers, are particularly proper to be inserted in this place; because they will be immediately succeeded by the life of the great RAMA-CHANDRA, who, we have seen, Sir William Jones considers as the genuine Bacchus of India, and with whom, therefore, the parallel may be more easily and accurately made.

CLASSICAL HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT INVASIONS

OF

INDIA.

HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

BOOK III.

DETAILING THE HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF INDIA DURING THE EARLIEST PERIODS, AS RECORDED IN CLASSICAL WRITERS.

CHAPTER I.

Containing the History of the Invasion of India by OSIRIS, *King of Egypt, according to the Greek Writers; by them more generally denominated* DIONYSIUS, *or* BACCHUS.

AS Egypt may justly contend for the palm of superior antiquity to every kingdom out of Asia, and, indeed, from the Sanscreet writers, whose accounts we have been reviewing, seems to have been anciently considered as a part of Asia itself, our eye, during this survey of the transactions of foreign nations with India, is naturally first directed thither.

In the preceding book we have seen that one of the numerous, and, indeed, one of the most ancient, of the Sanscreet appellations of Egypt was Misra-Sthan; that name by which it is constantly mentioned in Scripture, from having been first peopled by Misraim, the son of Ham. The name is, in fact, preserved to this day in the capital of the empire, for Misra is the domestic appellation for

Cairo. It is possible that MENES, the name of the first regular acknowledged sovereign of mortal race who reigned in that country, may be only a variation of that of the great legislator of India, the father and sovereign of the renovated earth, Menu, or Satyaurata. It is also possible that a veneration for so respected a name might lead them to retain it long as the title of their sovereigns, in the same manner as there are reckoned fourteen MENU's in India, all referring to, and centering, in Satyaurata. The mode after which Diodorus Siculus writes the name, MNEEVES, adding that his symbol was the *bull Apis**, strongly inclines us to believe the identity of these personages. But Menes and Osiris, both of whose names signify the sun, are, by the period in which each is said to have flourished, proved to be the same person, and that period is fixed to be about the 2220th year before Christ, the very period which we have assigned for the commencement of the Indian empire under Belus. Osiris is said to have laid the foundation of his capital of Thebes 2215 years before Christ; he is recorded to have reclaimed the Egyptians from that state of barbarity and ignorance, that cannibal ferocity, in which the Poorauns, cited before, described them to have been immersed; to have taught them to cultivate that land of mud where the *great serpent* reigned, (an emblem of the chaotic state of Lower Egypt, since animals of that class are gendered amidst accumulated slime and filth,) to drain the marshes, to sow various kinds of grain, to plant vineyards, and to have promoted among them the worship of the gods, and the pursuit of those arts that sweeten and ameliorate man's condition.

Such was the character of Osiris, and hence the Greeks, affixing to the name certain determinate ideas of superior dignity and worth, have unanimously conferred on him the honour of having been the

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. p. 42.

original Dionysius, or Bacchus, of Egypt; but how far they are justified in determining that the same renowned sovereign was the Bacchus of India, is also a point that will remain for discussion after we have recapitulated from those writers the exploits, whether real or imaginary, asserted to have been performed by him in that country. We shall first, however, summarily state a few general observations concerning this ancient Bacchus himself, whose name has been thus undistinguishingly conferred on sovereigns, eminent for dispensing wise laws and performing beneficent and brilliant acts, and whom all the classical writers of antiquity have, with one consent, joined in asserting to have been the first conqueror, and not merely the conqueror, but the reformer and legislator, of India.

In truth, deeply as the history of this personage is involved in the fables of mythology, various as are the characters which Bacchus is said to have sustained, and multifold as are the allegorical forms under which he is represented; yet it is highly probable, that some illustrious character, (whether Egyptian, Assyrian, or Indian, whether we denominate him Osiris, Sesostris, or Rama, whether we derive the word itself, with Jones, from BAGIS, a Sanscreet title of Seeva*, the generative god of India, whence Bhagavat, or, with Bochart, from BAR-CHUS†,) eminently endowed with the important qualifications ascribed to Bacchus in the earliest ages, actually did exist, not only a great hero in war, but a powerful patron and zealous promoter, in peace, of the liberal and useful arts. He seems to have been known and adored, under one or other of his numerous titles, in every region of the earth: some of those titles are enumerated in the subsequent ancient epigram:

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 250.

† Bochart's Phaleg. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 13.

Ogygia me BACCHUM vocat,
OSIRIN Ægyptus putat,
Mysi PHANACEM nominant,
DIONYSON Indi existimant,
Romana sacra LIBERUM,
Arabica gens ADONEUM,
Lucaniacus PANTHEUM.

Conjecture has wearied itself to discover who, among the primitive race of mankind, this person really was; and (while some authors have derived him from Egypt and others from Greece) there are those, who, with no small portion of probability on their side, refer us to the Sacred Writings themselves for the true developement of his history, in the character of Noah, the prototype of all beneficence after the deluge. There is a passage in Arrian which has been often quoted as decisive of the contest. We are informed by that writer*, that, when Alexander approached towards Nysa, an ancient and celebrated city, in about the thirty-second degree of north latitude, on the western frontiers of India, with intention to reduce it, he was waited upon with a deputation from the principal citizens, who implored his protection for its inhabitants, and that he would leave them in the free possession of those laws and that liberty which they had immemorially enjoyed. They trusted that he would grant them this indulgence from his reverence to the memory of Dionysius, (they must therefore have meant the Grecian deity of that name,) who, after his conquest of India, and on his retreat from it, erected that city as a monument of his triumphs, and as an asylum for those veterans in his army who were worn out in his service and unable to return with him; that he called the surrounding territory Nysea, and the city itself Nysa, in memory of his nurse of that name. The deputies from Nysa farther

* Arrian, lib. v. p. 196, edit. Gronovii.

informed him, that, to the neighbouring mountain, which hung over the city, Dionysius had given the appellation of *Meros*, from the circumstance of his having been cherished in the thigh of Jupiter; and that, of the sincerity of this their declaration, one demonstrable evidence remained, that the ivy, sacred to Bacchus, which grew no where else in India, flourished in a peculiar manner, the boast and ornament of Nysa.

It is possible, that this story might have been artfully fabricated by the citizens of Nysa, without having any real foundation, on purpose to screen themselves from danger and flatter the pride of Alexander; and, as I have, upon that supposition, purposely neglected to insert this address at length in my historical account of the Macedonian invasion, I should not have admitted it in this place but for the following very curious information to be found in the Asiatic Researches. "I had almost forgotten," says the president, "to remark, that *Meros* is said by the Greeks to have been a mountain of India, on which their Dionysius was born; and that *Meru*, though it generally means the north pole in the Indian geography, is also a mountain near the city of NAISHADA, or NYSA, called by the Grecian geographers Dionysopolis, and universally celebrated in the Sanscreet poems; though the birth-place of Rama (who seems to have better pretensions to be considered as the real Bacchus of India) is supposed to have been Ayodhya, or Audh*."

The vanity of the Egyptians and Greeks, in transforming to their own deified heroes whatever they had learned by tradition, or heard from report, concerning the illustrious exploits, in war or peace, of eminent men in the neighbouring kingdoms, is the fruitful source of nearly all the difficulties that attend the investigation of ancient

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 259.

characters, celebrated in the page of history. That a very strict intercourse, commencing even in the earliest post-diluvian æras, existed between the Indians and Egyptians, has been indisputably proved; and, as the Egyptians multiplied their theological fables by ingrafting upon them those of the Indians, so there is ample evidence to demonstrate, that the greatest part, if not the whole, of the Grecian deities derived their origin from Egypt. To such a height, indeed, had their fondness for Egyptian ceremonies and customs arisen at Athens, that one of their most celebrated comedians upbraided the Athenians, that their city was no longer Athens, but Egypt.

Without entering, at present, into any minute discussions, whether the Indian and Egyptian, and, consequently, the Grecian, Bacchus were really the same person, a circumstance, however, extremely probable from the foregoing and a variety of other collateral evidence which will be hereafter adduced, it is my province to record, in this place, the particulars that have descended down to us from the ancient writers, whom we distinguish by the name of classical, relative to this first memorable invasion of India by Osiris, under the more general name of Dionysius, or Bacchus; an invasion, which has, through successive ages, been equally the theme of the enraptured poet and the grave, but credulous, historian. It is from Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, who were all three in Egypt, and derived their information from the priests of the country, as well as from Plutarch, who, however, it should be added, explains away the whole in an allegory, that the following general account of this extraordinary person and this memorable event is principally extracted. Osiris, whom, as before observed, all the writers of antiquity consider as the original Dionysius, and a real character, notwithstanding the suspicion that arises from a title signifying THE SUN, this OSIRIS, acknowledged to have

flourished in periods long before Greece emerged from barbarity, is recorded to have been the son of Saturn, TIME, and Rhea, the EARTH; while Nonnus, in his Dionysiacs, relates that he was nursed by THE HOURS: all which is evidently an allegorical genealogy; and when intended to be applied to a human being, can only be true of the first post-diluvian mortal. The story of his being nourished in the *meros*, or *thigh*, of Jupiter, and educated at Nysa, in Arabia, properly belongs to the Grecian Bacchus, and, we shall presently see, was founded on their misconception of a Hindoo legend, and their mistaking that mountain for Nysa, in India.—When arrived at an age to take upon himself the cares of empire, he became at once the first and greatest monarch of Egypt; and, after having reclaimed his own subjects from the state of ignorance and barbarity in which they were immersed; after having taught them the method of cultivating the ground, and diffused among them the blessings of the harvest and the vintage; after having collected them into cities, made them acquainted with the arts of social life, and enforced upon them the worship of the gods, to whose honour he erected many magnificent temples: after all these beneficent acts at home, this father and sovereign of his people, this munificent friend of the human race, left his recently-erected capital of Thebes, and the nation he had thus reformed, to extend his empire over the other kingdoms of the East, and confer on foreign nations the inestimable benefits he had bestowed upon the Egyptians. He was accompanied in this expedition not only by heroes of high military fame, as Anubis and Macedo, his mail-clad sons, but by men renowned in the paths of inventive science, as Apollo and Pan; by Triptolemus, skilled in husbandry; and Maro, the planter of vines. Nor was he destitute of those who were skilled in the dance and the song; for, the nine Muses* are said constantly to

* In many of the ancient relievos, Bacchus is drawn attended by the whole choir of the

have attended him in his progress, and the wanton fawns and the jocund satyrs sported in his train.

To a conqueror, approaching with such benevolent intentions, attended with such powerful, as well as agreeable, associates, with force to compel, with music to soothe, and with oracles of wisdom and science to instruct, what nation could long refuse submission? Having passed through Æthiopia and Arabia, which he is said to have subjected and improved by a variety of useful institutions and stupendous works in architecture; particularly, in the former kingdom, having raised vast dykes to confine the Nile, whose overflowings had desolated the country, within its proper bed; Osiris hastened to that nobler theatre of his glory, the Indian empire. According to the above-mentioned authors, he found the Indians wandering among their mountains and plains in the simplicity of pastoral life and the innocence of primæval man: unacquainted with the principles of agriculture, and strangers, if not to the use of arms, to the principles of regulated war. The forces of Dionysius entered India, from the Persian frontier, in a magnificent procession; and all the pomp and splendour becoming the monarch of a great and civilized empire were displayed upon this occasion. He did not, however, enter it entirely unopposed, however ineffectually, by the jealous inhabitants. An immense multitude, armed with such weapons of defence as either accident supplied or infant science could fabricate, tumultuously flocked together from all the distant districts of India, to oppose the progress of the invading army; nor could the benefits, likely to be obtained by emancipation from barbarity, in their opinion, atone for the irreparable loss of their liberties.

Already exalted into a divinity by the prostrate adoration of those

Muses; and, in honour of him, the name of Nysa was given to one of the two summits of Parnassus.

who beheld the wonderful effects of power, united with clemency and wisdom, soothed by the flattering appellation of deity, and convinced perhaps of the necessity of continuing the delusion for the more rapid advancement of his projects, Dionysius retained among the attendants of his court a certain number of female devotees, who acted as priestesses to the new-made god, and who, by their frantic outcries and extravagant gesticulations, exhibited the appearance of divine inspiration. These, under the impulse of a holy phrensy, rushed furiously up and down the mountains, and made the forests resound with reiterated acclamations of "Io Bacche, Io Triumphe!" Each of these, as well as the soldiers of his army, were furnished with a *thirsus*, that is, a kind of lance or spear wrapped up in vine-leaves, to amuse the unpractised Indians, and induce them to believe that no hostilities were intended. When, therefore, the rude, but innumerable, host, assembled to defend all that was dear to them, prepared for the assault, and had arranged their elephants in order of battle, these furious Bacchæ, considerably increased in their numbers by others, of the male sex, who joined with them in that disguise, and who affected the same terrific appearance, flew in a transport of wild enthusiasm among the affrighted Indians; and, brandishing on high their thirsi, and loudly smiting the sacred cymbals of their god, spread dismay and havoc wherever they came. Their horrid shrieks and hideous yellings at the same time so terrified the elephants, that they fled in haste and confusion from the field, leaving the Indians, who had placed upon those elephants their principal dependance, in consternation not to be conceived. A vigorous attack upon their broken ranks from the disciplined legions of Dionysius soon ended the unequal contest, and left him in possession of the glory of being the first foreign victor on the plains of India.

We have no particulars of the route through India which the con-

queror pursued; but, as we are informed he stayed three years in the country, (from which circumstance the feast of Bacchus continued among the Thebans during the space of three days,) subjugating it by his arms and improving it by his wisdom, it may reasonably be supposed that his authority was absolute, and his dominion extensive, if not universal. In all the countries which Osiris subdued, he is said to have left monuments of his triumphs, and to have erected pillars descriptive of his victories, even at the sources of the Ganges, which some of his historians assert him to have reached, while others of them insist, that he pushed on his conquests quite to the eastern extremities of Asia, and was only stopped in his career by the bounding ocean.

Such is the substance of the varying accounts of this irruption by foreign historians; let us now attend to the opinion which, according to Diodorus Siculus, the Indians themselves entertained of this extraordinary character*. They acknowledged, indeed, he tells us, *a Bacchus*, to whose skill in legislation, in agriculture, and in planting vineyards and the larger species of Indian fig-trees, they were much indebted; that he was a great conqueror, that he erected many noble cities, and instituted sacred rights in honour of the gods; but at the same time, they insisted that he was no foreigner, but a native of India. Diodorus, however, or his informers, must have mistaken when they represented this Indian Bacchus as having taught the culture of the vine, however he might have encouraged the growth of the ivy at Nysa; for, it is a notorious fact, equally the result of ancient and modern observation, that no vineyards were ever generally cultivated in India before the time of Akber; and in fact, we can have little to do with Bacchus, as god of wine, where the Brahmins are positively forbidden to taste fermented

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. cap. 4.

liquors. A few wild grapes, we are told by Strabo*, grew in the country of the Musicani, totally unfit for use, and never improved by culture; but those are the only grapes on record that ancient India ever produced, though they certainly were no strangers to a kind of mead, made from the expressed juice of the sugar-cane; nor to a liquor extracted from rice, which they drank at their sacrifices. In more recent times, Hamilton mentions a similar extract, which, he says, they called *bang*. The truth is, that the Greeks, who chose to call this Indian hero by the name of their own god Dionysos, were willing likewise to invest him with all the attributes by which he was distinguished in their own country.

It must not be omitted, that the Indians related farther of *their* Bacchus, that so far from residing only three years in their country, he reigned over all India (if Arrian, as cited above, truly states their relations to the officers of the army of Alexander) during the extended period of fifty-two years, and died in a very advanced age, leaving a numerous family of children, who continued for many generations to sway the imperial sceptre. After having been absent from his Egyptian territories three years, the victorious monarch directed his course towards Greece, crossed the Hellespont, and, landing in Thrace, added new glory to the Egyptian arms, by the conquest and death of Lycurgus, its king, who opposed his progress. To Maro he gave in charge to cultivate that as yet uncivilized region, bestowed upon his son Macedo the kingdom which, from him, was afterwards called Macedon, and left Triptolemus in possession of Attica. At length, he led back his troops to their native country, and entered Thebes in triumph, laden with all the choicest productions and various wealth of the different countries which he had reclaimed and subjugated.

* Strabo, lib. xv.

These discordant accounts seem to prove the existence of two heroes of the name, or at least character, of Dionysius, the one a native, the other a foreigner; and, in truth, the Indian annals, as will be seen hereafter, record the events of an Egyptian sovereign, denominated Deva-Nahusha, whence Dionysius was doubtless formed, and his feats have probably been confounded with those of that Rama, who we are about to prove was the true Indian Bacchus, after having first finished the narration of what is to be found in the classics concerning the invasion and the memorials of it. We have it on the authority of Plutarch, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, that, in honour of Osiris, and principally with a view to commemorate his famed expedition into India, those games were established which, in Egypt, were called Pamylia, in Greece, Dionysia, and, in Rome, Bacchanalia; and he asserts the Egyptian Isis and Osiris (without doubt the Isa and Eswara of India) to be the Grecian Ceres and Bacchus*. The kings of the Oxydracæ, who inhabited the north-western parts of India, in which the irruption commenced, are also said by Curtius† to have imitated, even till the period of the invasion of Alexander, in their military excursions, the order of march observed by that conqueror on his entrance into India; while their priests continued to celebrate the orgies of Bacchus, which they professed to the Macedonians to have learned from himself when in their territories. Curtius is a writer upon whom so little dependence is to be placed, that, unless his account admit of confirmation from the testimony of others, no great stress can be laid upon the assertions of so credulous and flowery an historian. Sir Thomas Herbert, however, a traveller possessed of great learning and fidelity, confirms this statement, as to those regions of the peninsula which he visited; and, after affirming, that he saw in

* Plutarch de Iside et Osiride.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 4.

many pagodas images exactly resembling those of Priapus and Pan, as described by Servius, adds, that the feasts of Bacchus are still celebrated in those parts; for, that they cover themselves with skins, adorn their heads and tresses with ivy, in one hand holding a javelin, and in the other cymbals of brass and timbrels; attended by youth of both sexes, who ramble like so many distracted people up and down, and rend the air with their continued clamours*. Whatever opinion we may entertain of Mr. Hollwell's mode of interpreting the mythology of India, in many instances doubtless erroneous, from the small advances made in his time by Europeans in the knowledge of Sanscreet and in the mysteries of the Brahmins, yet his veracity, when he relates what he personally beheld in India, cannot reasonably be doubted; and he confidently affirms, that rites, very similar, if not exactly the same, with those celebrated in the ancient feasts of Bacchus, are even at this day exhibited as well in the mountainous regions as in the peninsula of India†. On his return from India, he favoured the public with a very particular account, accompanied with engravings, of some of the festive representations in honour of the Hindoo deities, at which he was present in Bengal; and, according to him, the mystic dance, the exulting chorus, and the drums and cymbals, are still in use. In the dramatic entertainment, exhibited at one of their feasts called the Ram-Jattra, or *dance of Ram*, whose resemblance to Bacchus we have before intimated, that great idol is represented on his plate invested with the crown of victory, as the protector of empires, states, and property, encircled with a serpent, the emblem of immortality, and riding upon a monkey, the known emblem, *he observes*, throughout Hindostan, of craft, policy, and stratagem: but we shall presently see that is by no means the reason why Ram is thus pourtrayed:

* Herbert in Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 457.

† India Tracts, part ii. chap. vii.

in his left hand he holds a bow, and is represented in the attitude of having just discharged an arrow from it. Mr. Hollwell has accompanied his engraving with a short historical account of Ram's exploits in India, as related to him by the Brahmins then present, which, having better authorities, we have no occasion to copy; but he justly adds, "Under these, the ancient history of Hindostan and its rajahs is obscurely couched." In this groupe are united with Ram, Lacksmi, the goddess of grain, crowned with ears of corn, and encircled by a plant bearing fruit; Seeva, sitting on a white bull, an animal peculiarly sacred to Osiris, environed also with a serpent, holding in one hand a dumboor, or small drum, and in the other a singee, or a musical horn, instruments in use at all their festivals; and Saraswaty, the Gentoo goddess of arts, letters, and eloquence.

There is no occasion for our prolonging these accounts from inferior sources of information, when we can at once ascend to the fountain-head of intelligence. I shall, therefore, without farther delay, add the substance of what Sir William Jones has related concerning the history of RAM, as the prototype of Bacchus, from those genuine records in the original Sanscreet to which he has had access.

He commences the important information, for which the public are so much indebted to him concerning this long-debated subject, *who* the Indian Bacchus actually was, by observing, that on the celebrated topic of Rama and his achievement both in Egypt and India, the Hindoos have a great number of beautiful compositions, historical and dramatical, at least two thousand years old; that there is, in particular, an epic poem on the same subject, written by Valmic, their most ancient poet, called the RAMAYAN, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far surpasses the learned and elaborate work of Nonnus; with which, he

is of opinion, if an accurate comparison were made, there could hardly a doubt arise that Dionysos and Rama were the same person; and he inclines to think that he was Rama, the son of Cush, who might have established the first regular government in this part of Asia.

After informing us, that Ram (that is, the second who bore that distinguished name, and whose more extended history will shortly be detailed) is an incarnate deity of the first rank in the Indian system of mythology, or, in other words, that he is an appearance upon earth of the preserving power; he adds, that it is his belief, that this incarnate deity was the Dionysius of the Greeks, whom they termed Eleutherias, *the deliverer*, and Dithyrambus, *the triumphant*; and that he was the same person whom the Romans, adopting the Grecian titles, called Liber and Triumphus, &c. &c. because both nations had records or traditionary accounts of his giving laws to men and deciding their contests, of his improving navigation and commerce, and, what may appear still more observable, of his conquering India and other countries with an army of *satyrs*. He adds, that, in fact, Ram, or Rama, was the sovereign of Ayodhya, or Auhh, a city in the most ancient times of wonderful extent and magnificence, as may be inferred from the present Lucnow's having been, according to the Brahmin accounts, only a lodge for one of its gates; that he is celebrated as a conqueror of the highest renown, and the deliverer of nations from tyrants, as well as of his consort Sita, from the giant Ravan, king of Lanca; that he was commander-in-chief of a numerous and intrepid race of those large monkeys, which some of our naturalists have denominated Indian satyrs; that the name of his general was Hanumat, the prince of satyrs; and that, by the wonderful activity of such an army, a bridge of rocks was raised over the sea, a part of which the Hindoos suppose still to remain; and he thinks it is probably

that series of rocks, which, by Mussulmen and Portuguese, is mistakenly called Adam's, for it should be Rama's, bridge. "Might not," subjoins Sir William, "this army of satyrs have been only a race of mountaineers, whom Rama, if such a monarch ever existed, had civilized. We must not omit, that the father of Hanumat was the god of wind, named PAVAN, one of the eight genii; and, as Pan improved the pipe by adding six reeds, and played exquisitely on the cithern a few moments after his birth, so one of the four systems of Indian music bears the name of Hanumat, or Hanuman, in the nominative, as its inventor, and is now in general estimation*."

These remarks of Sir William Jones concerning the identity of Bacchus and Rama are much strengthened by the very singular fact, that, as there were two incarnate Ramas, Parasu and Ramachandra, so Osiris is asserted by ancient mythologists to have been twice born, whence he was denominated διφυης. In fact, however, there were three Ramas; the last being the elder brother of Creeshna, and sometimes numbered among the Avatars; yet even here does not the parallel fail; for, in the hymns attributed to Orpheus, he is called τριγονος, or thrice-born, πρωτογονον, διφυη, τριγονον †.

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 258.

† Orphic Hymns, v. 29.

CHAPTER II.

Continuing the Investigation of the Subject discussed in the preceding Chapter, with Strictures on the History of ancient Egypt, as connected with India, in which the classical are compared with the Hindoo Historians.

AS I conceive the history of Egypt in these early periods to be closely connected with that of India, and as Mr. Wilford has investigated, at far greater length than Sir William Jones, the history of Osiris and its first monarchs, I think myself obligated, notwithstanding the evident mixture of allegory with the events of almost every reign, occasionally to notice them as I proceed, since they not only mutually illustrate the history of each country, but throw light on the general history of mankind in their infant state.

The result of the inquiry, instituted in the chapter preceding, concerning that celebrated, but obscure, character in antiquity, denominated Osiris, if in fact he were not Noah himself, seems to be that the Egyptian priests, from whom Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, obtained their information concerning him, have ingrafted upon the history of the actions of that prince (whether true or fabulous) that of more than one of the Ramas of India; the first of whom, Parasu-Rama, we have seen, in the account of his Avatar, is by the Sanscreet historians recorded to have combated with and crushed the SANCHALAS, or savage cannibal race of Upper Egypt, who lived in shells, or the hollows of rocks formed by the accumulation of shells, exactly after the manner in which the Troglodytes of the Grecian geographers are said to have lived.

These latter were, doubtless, the first rude inhabitants of Egypt, to whom the exact reverse of the story is more truly applicable, since they were the ferocious people whom our INDIAN OSIRIS first civilized, restrained from rapine and blood by the just severity of salutary laws, and taught to reside in habitations, better calculated to be the abode of human beings than the gloomy caverns and frightful precipices of the mountains of the Thebais. The idea of these gigantic combatants hurling rocks at one another forcibly brings back to our recollection the fable of the Titans warring against the gods; that is, the Dityes warring against the Devatas, the most probable source of that Grecian legend.

> Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam;
> Ter PATER extructas disjecit fulmine montes.

The Grecian, indeed, armed with thunder the hand of their Pater Omnipotens; but our omnipotent Rama, the FATHER of the Indian nation, defeated his Titans by darting at them huge serpents, "which enfolded the giants in an inextricable maze, and then destroyed them." The serpents here mentioned may allude to the uncultivated and marshy state of the lower lands of Egypt, which were probably in those early periods little better than a vast stagnant lake, the proper place for serpents and other venomous reptiles to engender in. On that account, doubtless, the great serpent SANCHASURA is said to have dominion in the Lower Egypt; for, according to the Sanscreet books, translated by Mr. Wilford, "On the banks of the Nile, there had been long contests between the Devatas and the Dityes: but, the latter tribe having prevailed, their king and leader SANCHASURA, who resided in the ocean, made frequent incursions into the country, advancing usually in the night, and retiring before day to his submarine palace. Thus he destroyed or made captive many excellent princes, whose terri-

tories and people were between two fires; for, while SANCHASURA was ravaging one side of the continent, CRACACHA, king of Crauncha-Dweepa, used to desolate the other; both armies consisting of savages and cannibals, who, when they met, fought together with brutal ferocity, and thus changed the most fertile of regions into a barren desert." This is a just picture of the ravages of the sea and sea-monsters on an inundated Delta; and, by the conflicts thus incessantly waged, may be meant the contests of adverse colonies, struggling against each other for the possession of the country.

Two other monsters are also said to have desolated Egypt in these remote æras; SANI and RAHU: by the first of which they mean the planet Saturn in his most malignant aspect; by Rahu they must mean the Typhon whose combats with Osiris are so renowned in ancient fable; for, thus Mr. Wilford: "RAHU is represented, on account of his tyranny, as an immense river-dragon, or crocodile, or rather a fabulous monster with four talons, called Graha, from a root, implying *violent seizure*; and, in the Puraums, it seems to be the creature of poetical fancy. The tyrant, however, in his human shape, had six children, all equally mischievous with their father. In his allegorical character, he was decapitated by Veeshnu; (that is, Veeshnu incarnate in Rama;) his lower extremity became the Cetu, or dragon's tail, and his head is still called Rahu, the ascending node." Concerning Sani, a tyrant perhaps constellated in Saturn, there is in the same record a most remarkable relation; for, he is said to have been expelled Egypt when *Arama, a grandson of Satyaurata,* (plainly the eldest Rama,) died; which incontestably marks the identity of the character. In truth, all this must be considered as history blended with physics, marking the gradual progress of improvement that took place among men and in the countries at first inhabited by them. The Typhon of the Egyptians is the Sanchasura of the Brahmins; the Python of the

Greeks, (the Greeks, who, emigrating from Egypt under Danaus, transported with them the enormous mass of her mythological superstitions,) that tremendous serpent, breathing devouring flames, is, with the small alteration of a letter, the Typhon of Egypt; his being slain by the Pythian Apollo, in one region, is the copy of his destruction by Horus the son of Osiris, in the other; and the whole may ultimately allude to the power of the sun drying up the stagnant lakes of Egypt, and consuming by his scorching beam the venomous reptiles concealed within their slimy bosom.

The important particulars which I am enabled, by Mr. Wilford, to impart to the reader concerning DEO NAUSH, or DEVA NAHUSHA, the temporary sovereign of MERU, whence, doubtless, the title of *Dionysius* among the Greeks was formed, and the name and story of the mountain *Meros* derived, are to be found in the following Indian legend, which I shall preface with what he has communicated at more detail than Sir William Jones concerning that mountain. On the latter subject he observes: "According to the orthodox Hindoos, the globe is divided into two hemispheres, both called Meru; but the superior hemisphere is distinguished by the name of Sumeru, which implies beauty and excellence, in opposition to the lower hemisphere, or Cumeru, which signifies the reverse. By Meru; without any adjunct, they generally mean the higher, or northern, hemisphere, which they describe, with a profusion of poetical imagery, as the seat of delights; while they represent Cumeru as the dreary habitation of demons, in some parts intensely cold, and in others so hot that the waters are continually boiling. In strict propriety, Meru denotes the pole and the polar regions; but it is the celestial north pole round which they place the gardens and metropolis of INDRA, while YAMA holds his court in the opposite polar circle, or the station of the Asoors, who warred with the Soors, or gods of the firmament."

This geographical description is absolutely necessary to the elucidation of the legend itself, which, our author observes, is manifestly connected with the oldest history and mythology in the world. "INDRA, king of Meru, having slain a person of the sacerdotal class, was obliged to retire from the world, in order to perform the penance ordained for the crime of Brahmahatya, or the murder of a Brahmin: his dominions were soon in the greatest disorder, and the rebel Dityes oppressed the Devas, who applied for assistance to NAHUSHA, a prince of distinguished virtues, whom they unanimously elected king of their heavenly mansions, with the title of DEVANAHUSHA. His first object was to reduce the Dityes and the sovereigns of all the Dweeps, who had shaken off their allegiance; for which purpose he raised an immense army, and marched through the interior Cusha-Dweepa, or Iran and Arabia, through the exterior Dweep of Cusha, or Ethiopia, through Sancha-Dweep, or Egypt; through Varaha-Dweep, or Europe, through Chandra-Dweep, and through the countries now called Siberia and China. When he invaded Egypt, he overthrew the combined forces of the Cutila-Cesas and Syama-Muchas with so terrible a carnage, that the Cali (the Nile) was reported to have swallowed up the natives of Egypt, whose bodies were thrown into her stream. During his travels, he built many places of worship, and gave each of them the title of Devanahusham: the principal rivers of the countries through which he passed were also distinguished by his name, NAHUSHA being an appellation of the Nile, of the Chacshu or Oxus, of the Varaha or Ister, and of several others. He returned through India to Meru.

"This fable of DEVA-NAHUSHA, who is always called Deo-Naush in the popular dialects, is clearly the same in part with that of Dionysus, whether it allude to any single personage or to a whole colony: and we see in it the origin of the Grecian fiction,

that of Dionysius being sewed up in the Meros, or thigh of Jupiter; for Meru, on which Deva-Nahusha resided for a time, was the seat of Indra, the god of the firmament, and Jupiter of India*."

In the above Sanscreet relation, is exhibited a sweep of conquest far beyond what even the Greek writers have assigned to Bacchus; for, it takes in the whole of the habitable world, and in my opinion, as Nahusha is said to have been a prince of distinguished virtue, can only allude to the first virtuous colonies of Shemite extraction with Satyaurata-Menu, or some other patriarchal chief, at their head, conquering the stubborn and malignant race of Cuthite origin, who opposed his equitable laws, and aimed to establish on the earth a system of sanguinary despotism, or involve all things in a state of boundless anarchy. If, however, we understand the passage just cited only in a mythological sense, it may allude to the physical evil that had overspread the face of the earth, the ferocious savages, the inundating waters, and the pestilential vapours, personified under the form of demons, malignant in mind and hideous of aspect.

It has already been observed, that some mythological writers, with no small shew of reason on their side, refer us to the character of Noah for an explanation of the principal circumstances related of Osiris. Among these, the most eminent are Dr. Shuckford and Mr. Bryant, but more particularly the latter gentleman in his often-cited Analysis of Ancient Mythology.

Throughout that learned and elaborate work, Mr. Bryant considers Osiris as the great patriarch; and insists that all the rites instituted in Egypt and the East, in honour of that deified prince, have an immediate allusion to Noah. Among much other very impressive evidence, he mentions that remarkable circumstance of the

* Mr. Wilford in the Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 245.

ceremony of shutting up Osiris in his ark taking place on the twentieth day of the month Athyr, "the precise month, and day of the month, on which Noah entered the ark." This name of Dionusos he derives from Dios-Nusos; for, by the latter term, he argues, the word Noah, or Nuh, could alone be properly expressed in the Greek tongue.—He then adds,

"We must consider the account given of Dionusus as the history of the Dionusians. This history is two-fold. Part relates to their rites and religion, in which the great events of the infant world, and the preservation of mankind in general, were recorded. In the other part, which contains the expeditions and conquests of this personage, are enumerated the various colonies of the people, who were denominated from him. They were the same as the Osirians and Herculeans; all of one family, though under different appellations*."

On the above-mentioned subject of the dawning sciences in the renovated world, I ought not to omit mentioning that the celebrated mystic volumes attributed to Hermes, the contemporary, the friend, and counsellor, of Osiris, and who, during his absence on his Indian expedition, was left, with Isis, joint regent of his kingdom, are, by Mr. Wilford, conceived to be no other than the four Vedas of India; those Vedas which, containing the whole circle of human science, and the prescribed rules for the proper worship of the Deity, are supposed, by the Indians, to have been revealed, from Heaven, to Brahma, their great legislator, for promulgation among men. In the sixth volume of Indian Antiquities, however, I have discussed, at such considerable length, the parallel of Buddha, the Indian Mercury, and the Egyptian Hermes, and, in the ninth Incarnation of Veeshnu, under that title, shall have so much to ob-

* Analysis, vol. i. p. 274.

serve, in addition to that discussion, that it is unnecessary for me, at present, to enter more at large into the consideration of this novel, but apparently well-founded, opinion: for, of the celebrated Hermetic Books, the boast and admiration of ancient Egypt, (the Pimander in our possession being universally allowed to be a spurious work,) where are the remains? or who, of the most ancient among the Greek writers, except Sanchoniathon, ever pretended to have obtained a sight of them? Yet, that such books existed, and were solemnly borne, by priests appointed for that purpose, in the procession at the pomps of Isis, we have the concurrent testimony of many respectable writers in antiquity, and the names of them all, to the amount of forty-two, are enumerated by Fabricius in the first book of the Bibliotheca Græca. The four Vedas themselves make as many large volumes in folio; and have been collected by the zeal, and are now reposited by the munificence, of Colonel Polier, in the British Museum. The great increase in the number, from four to forty-two, may be accounted for, by supposing that the whole work might be divided into so many books, or distinct treatises; as, for instance, the first, consisting of hymns in honour of the gods; the second, containing rules for the conduct of kings in the government of empires; the third, on astronomy; the fourth, on geometry; the fifth, on medicine; the sixth, on music, &c &c*. So little, therefore, being known to us of their contents, there is reason to suspect that the venerated originals have continued to remain, till very recently, in sacred repose among the Brahmins of Cashmere and Benares; and that the mystic volumes of Egypt, which Sanchoniathon translated into Greek, (if ever he did thus translate them,) might possibly have been either the Vedas, the Pooraups, or commentaries on those Vedas, or, at least, tablets in-

* Vide Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. lib. i. cap. xi. p. 75.

scribed with doctrines founded on the basis of the principles in religion and science contained in the sacred books of India. These books, the Pooraums affirm, were carried out of India into Egypt by a blameless and persecuted race of men, named Pallis, who emigrated thither in the earliest periods of the Indian empire; and whose history is recorded, at great length, by Mr. Wilford in the same dissertation.

The account of the Pallis, from the Poorauns just alluded to, unfolds to us various circumstances of great moment in this historical inquiry. In the first place, it introduces us to the ancestors of the PALIBOTHRI, or PALLIPUTRAS, the most numerous, powerful, and, according to classical and native writers, renowned tribe of Indians, even till the days of Alexander, whose dominion we see extended from the Indus, or, at least, we may assert, from the most easterly river of the Panjab, to the western limits of Bengal. In the second place, it informs us, that they were, in religion, Seevites, for which they were persecuted and expelled: and imported the Seevite or Phallic doctrines, and fire-worship, in Egypt and Syria; sailing thence from Phœnice, as we shall hereafter find, into Britain and the western world. In the third place, it discloses to us the primæval race who, under the name of the dynasty of shepherd kings, conquered Egypt from its first possessors, the Cushite sovereigns, and affords a more satisfactory answer to the question which Mr. Bruce supposes his readers to ask*, "*Whence did these shepherds come, and at what time, into Egypt?*" than he himself, unassisted by the knowledge imparted by Sanscreet books, has been able to return; while his very singular relation, in the same page, from the Axum Chronicle, of a serpent conquering the province of Tigræ, is, by preceding extracts from Indian chronicles, confirmed, and

* Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 397.

traced to its true allegorical source. Finally, we must be convinced by it of one or the other of these two propositions: either that the Vedas of India, thus transported into Egypt, have been appropriated, by the Egyptian priests, to themselves, and called the books of Hermes; or, on the contrary, that the Hermetic books and philosophy have been purloined and translated by the Brahmins, and are the foundation of all the boasted wisdom of the old Brachmans.

While we are thus comparing the *Sanscreet* with the *Classical* History of Egypt, as connected with India, it would be improper wholly to omit the curious account to be found in the Poorauns concerning that disputed fact, the origin and founder of the pyramids. The quotation is peculiarly important, because it is the only place in which I find the name of the tyrant NIRMARYADA, the *Nimrod* of Scripture, occurring; and it is not irrelative to our subject, because the pyramids are generally allowed by mythologists to have been temples raised in honour of Osiris, the SUN.

"An ancient king," says our author, citing the Mahacalpa, "surnamed Vatsa, because he was descended from Vatsa, a celebrated sage, passed a hundred years in a dark cavern of Crishna-Giri, or the Black Mountain, on the banks of the Cali, performing the most rigorous acts of devotion. At length, Veeshnu, surnamed Guhaśaya, or *dwelling in caves*, appeared to him, and promised him, all that he desired, *male issue;* adding, that his son should be named Tāmovatsa, in allusion to the darkness in which his father had so long practised religious austerities. Tamovatsa became a warlike and ambitious, but wise and devout, prince: he performed austere acts of humiliation to Veeshnu, with a desire of enlarging his empire, and the god granted his boon. Having heard that Misra-Sthan was governed by NIRMARYADA, (probably a direct descendant of Nimrod,) who was powerful and unjust, he went with

his chosen troops into that country; and without a declaration of war, began to administer justice among the people, and to give them a specimen of a good king: he even treated with disdain an expostulatory message from Nirmaryada, who marched against him with a formidable army, but was killed in a battle which lasted twelve days, and in which Tamovatsa fought like another Parasu-Rama. The conqueror placed himself on the throne of Misra, and governed the kingdom with perfect equity. His son, Bahyavatsa, devoted himself to religion, and dwelt in a forest, having resigned his dominion to his son, Rucmavatsa, who tenderly loved his people, and so highly improved his country, that, from his just revenues, he amassed an incredible treasure. His wealth was so great, that he raised three mountains, called Rucmadri, Rajatadri, and Retnadri, or the mountain of gold, of silver, and of gems: the author says mountains, and probably in a pyramidal form.

"These three stupendous edifices, called mountains, from their size and form, there can be little or no doubt, were the three great pyramids, near Misra-Sthan, or Memphis; which, according to the Poorauns and to Pliny, were built from motives of ostentation; but, according to Aristotle, were monuments of tyranny. Rucmavatsa was no tyrant to his own people, whom he cherished, says the Mahacalpa, as if they had been his own children; but he might have compelled the native Egyptians to work, for the sake of keeping them employed, and subduing their spirit. It is no wonder that authors differ as to the founders of those vast buildings; for, the people of Egypt, says Herodotus, held their memory in such detestation, that they would not even pronounce their names; they told him, however, that they were built by a herdsman, whom he calls Philitius, and who was a leader of the Palis or Bhils mentioned in our first section. The pyramids might have been called mountains of gold, silver, and precious stones, in the hyperbolical style

of the East; but I rather suppose that the first was said to be of gold, because it was coated with yellow marble; the second of silver, because it had a coating of white marble; and the third of jewels, because it excelled the others in magnificence, being coated with a beautiful spotted marble of a fine grain, and susceptible of an exquisite polish*."

The reader will, doubtless, be of opinion, that it is now high time to bring to a conclusion these extended strictures concerning Osiris, or Dionysius: this astonishing compound of fact and fable, attached by Egyptians, Greeks, and Indians, to the history of that celebrated personage, who is now the Sun and Sirius, now an Egyptian god, and now an Indian king, Noah and Satyaurata, a conqueror and a chimera. My intention in presenting him with so prolonged an account was, that he might have the whole that relates to this long disputed character in one view before him, and determine for himself to which side of the intricate question he should accede; whether to Shuckford and Bryant's opinion, that, under this veil of allegory, Noah is disguised, as I own myself greatly inclined to believe; with Jones, that it is Rama; or, with Wilford, that it is Eswara; or whether, in some degree, the character may not exhibit a combination of the leading features of all the three, tinctured with the prepossessions of their respective historians. Before we conclude, however, it is necessary, as I began with detailing the accounts of classical writers, that I should be consistent, and conclude with their details relating to the family whom he left behind; a circumstance which proves that those writers, at least, do not resolve the whole into allegory. After asserting that Dionysius founded the first regular monarchy in India, and that he was revered as the sole sovereign of the country during the three years he

* Savary's Travels, vol. i. p. 246; and Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 226.

resided there, they add, that he left, established on the throne, SPARTEMBAS, one of the nobles who attended him, and most honoured with his regard and confidence; and that the latter worthily presided on that throne during fifty-two years. According to Arrian, he was succeeded by his son, BUDYAS, whose reign did not exceed twenty years. His successor was CRADEVAS; and this dynasty continued to flourish, in regular lineal descent, for many generations. The government then became elective among the native princes of India, and continued in this form till the invasion of Alexander*.

In all probability, this remnant of Indian history was founded on what the Greeks had learned from the natives in detached and broken fragments concerning the Avatars. On that supposition, if Dionysius were, in fact, Rama, the name of Spartembas may be only a corruption of Hanumas, the celebrated general of that Indian hero. By Budyas, again, (Βυδυας, in Arrian,) they may mean, and it is probably they did mean, Buddha, who appeared in a succeeding Avatar; and by Cradevas, Creeshna, whose surprising history will presently be detailed.

The probability above-stated, of the Greeks having inserted, in their accounts of India, detached portions of the Avatars, is greatly increased by what is expressly recorded in the same page of Arrian, relative to the establishment of the kindom and worship of Creeshna, under the name of Hercules, among the Suraseni, in a region washed by the river Ιωβαρες, (the *Jomanes*, or *Jumna,)* and the mention of Μεθορα, or Mathura, on its banks, where, in fact, to this day, Creeshna is principally worshipped, and where the ruins of his magnificent pagoda are still to be seen. To the history of that most ancient Hercules, who, according to the Greek classical writers, was the second great invader of India, our attention must be directed in the subsequent chapter.

* Arrian in Indicis, p. 321. Edit. Gronovii

CHAPTER III.

The Invasion of India by HERCULES, *the first of the Heroes of that Name, who was probably the same Person with* BELUS, *or* BALI, *the Founder of the Balic Dynasty in India, and who is denominated, by Cicero,* HERCULES BELUS.

HAVING throughout this volume and the Indian Antiquities, for reasons repeatedly adduced, contended that the Assyrian, and, we may add, the Tyrian, Belus (for, they were evidently the same) was the original Hercules of antiquity, gigantic in strength and form, the dauntless explorer of land and sea, who cleared the forests and drained the marshes of the rugged earth after the incursions of the inundation, who tamed the savage Nemæan monsters, combated the venomous Lernæan serpents, and chased away the dreadful Stymphalides that infested the air itself; the same Belus (that is, the Βηλος απ' Ευφρηταο) mentioned by Nonnus, whose colonies, travelling to the remotest regions of the earth, extended through every country even to the extremity of Britain itself, the renown of the Belidæ and Heraclidæ: after setting out with this hypothesis, I ought, perhaps, in the reader's opinion, to have considered what the classical authors of antiquity have asserted concerning this celebrated hero, before I investigated the character of Osiris. But, since many circumstances, in that history, have an apparent reference to the character of Noah himself, undoubtedly the first universal sovereign after the flood, and as those authors are unanimous in asserting Osiris to have been the first conqueror of India, I did not

think it proper to violate the order of time, and oppose the voice of antiquity, by earliest noticing the exploits of the Indian Hercules, that Hercules whom Cicero, I have before observed, enumerating the various heroes who bore the name, denominates Hercules-Belus; *Quintus in India, qui Belus dicitur**. There is scarcely a region of the earth to which his renown has not reached, and upon whose annals his name is not engrafted. The snows of Scythia and the sands of Lybia alike attest the toils which he endured and the feats which he accomplished; and yet, amidst all this blaze of heroism, we too probably still wander in the vale of delusion, and the sun in the constellation Hercules, or, in other words, the sun shining in meridian strength, still recurs the perpetual actor through the varied drama.

When men are identified with constellations, as is the case with all the numerous heroes of the solar dynasties of Asia, how shall history perform its allotted task with order or gravity? Yet would it be absurd entirely to exclude from its page the character and feats of Hercules, because the former is involved in allegory, and many of the latter are wild and extravagant. When we are informed by Diodorus, that a Hercules, superior in strength and courage to any mortal then living, invaded India, at that period a beautiful desert, and the people plunged in ignorance and barbarity; that he conquered this savage race; that he divided the whole country into separate kingdoms, over which he appointed distinct sovereigns from the male of his own family, which are said to have been numerous, and that many of those kingdoms, as well as the descendants of those sovereigns, flourished even till the invasion of Alexander; that he built many noble cities throughout the country, and, among others, Palibothra, which, from both native and foreign records, we

* Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. iii. p. 81.

know to have been among the oldest, if not the most ancient, of all erected in the country; especially when that writer is so particular in his narration as to inform us that he erected in it a stately palace, constructed ramparts of great strength, and fortified the whole with a deep and broad ditch, into which, with a view to render it unapproachable by an enemy, he turned an adjacent river so as entirely to surround it*; when we are informed also by Arrian, who had it from eye-witnesses, that this city was, in fact, called the royal or imperial Palibothra, had on its walls four hundred and seventy towers, with sixty-five gates, and had a prodigious fosse, (εξαπλεθρον,) six acres in breadth, and forty-five feet in depth; we are by no means inclined to think such very particular accounts the mere effect of invention, but proceed to examine the truth of the assertion in the writings of native Indian geographers, and to explore the dynasties of their ancient kings, for such a distinguished character as is above described.

Again, as we know that the description of *Palibothra*, or *Patna*, on the Ganges, is geographically just, and can trace the vestiges of buildings and walls of vast magnitude and extent, we are naturally led, in the next place, attentively to consider to whom in particular, among the ancient-recorded heroes of India, the character of such a conqueror is most applicable; and the great warriors, Bali, Rama, and Creeshna, who flourished in æras when fable and history were inseparably blended, immediately rush upon our view. But, as the history and character of Osiris seem to be absorbed in those of the three Ramas, or rather of that one great deified prince, known to the Brahmins under three distinct representations, our attention is necessarily turned towards Bali as the prototype of the allegorical Hercules, whose triumphs were the result rather of

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. p. 124, edit. Rhodoman.

strength than of *wisdom* and *prudence*, as in the case of Osiris, or Bacchus, and who is known rather as a subjugator of nations than as a reformer of their manners, as the founder of cities rather than as the institutor of laws. It must be added, however, that in the life of Creeshna there are many prominent particulars very nearly resembling the wonderful events in the life of Hercules; as his conflict with the venom-breathing serpent Calya, sent to destroy him in his infancy, and whose destruction he accomplished; his vanquishing giants, by holding them up aloft and strangling them in the air, as Hercules destroyed Antæus; his visit to Hades; with many other similar adventures, which the reader will find inserted at length in the future pages of this volume, and which demonstrate, that the Hercules of the Greeks, at least, if not the Egyptians, has been formed out of the combined incidents in both histories.

It is therefore only with the Egyptian, who was the same with the Assyrian, Hercules, and was known to the Assyrians and Indians under the name of Belus, (the Zeus Belus of Sanchoniatho,) that we can have any concern, during our inquiry into the events of these very remote periods. His rugged dress and uncouth armour, the tiger's skin, and his club, mark the high antiquity of the character who bore them, as well as the barbarity of the æra in which he flourished; his being accounted, also, the son of Jupiter, implies a tacit confession in his historians of his superiority to every other hero of the name, and his immediate connection with the first post-diluvian race of deified mortals, on whom those lofty titles were conferred. The Tyrians did not exaggerate, by many centuries, when they told Herodotus, while he was admiring his superb temple in their city, that his rites had been established there, and the city founded by him, two thousand three hundred years previous to the period of his visit. It was probably one of the first

cities built after the dispersion by the adventurous race, who, under their dauntless leader, or at least a leader bearing this title, first explored the deep, and sailed to the farthest west. The Higher Egypt seems to have been the proper scene of his triumphs by land, though we hear of him in his famous pillars at the very extremity of the African continent. In fact, he was one of the *dii majores* of Egypt; and, in Manetho's dynasties, succeeds Thoth, or Hermes, who was the friend and secretary of Osiris. In the records of India, given us by Arrian, the Indian Hercules is said to have worn the same habit as the Theban Hercules*; and to have left a daughter named PANDÆA, which is a very remarkable fact, as we shall hereafter find the race of *Pandu* to be most celebrated in the earliest pages of ancient Sanscreet history; and there is a kingdom, situated at the extremity of the peninsula, denominated the *kingdom of Pandion*.

Again, Hercules, as stated in the last chapter, is said to have had his rites flourishing in the time of Megasthenes among the Suraseni, whose two principal cities are Methora and Clisoboras, on the navigable river Jobares, which should doubtless be Jomanes, or the Jumna, as the cities alluded to are indisputably Mathura, on that river, and Allahabad, known anciently by the name of Piyaug, at the confluence of the Jumna with the Ganges. This is an additional proof of what was before observed, that the Indian Hercules is a mixed character, compounded out of the history of Bali and Creeshna; for, Mathura and its environs are the theatre of all Creeshna's exploits; his temple and memory are still venerated in that region, and his exploits sung at two annual festivals, holden there on the 23d of Bhadun and the 15th of Kartick†, by the virgins of Mathura; which, for forty-eight cose round, is considered

* Arrian, in Indicis, p. 321, Gronov. edit.

† Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 256.

as holy ground by its devout inhabitants*. If, however, the Theban Hercules be known in India, not less is Creeshna known for his heroic feats on the plains of Egypt; a circumstance which appears to contradict the assertion, attributed to the Indians in Arrian, that their Hercules never carried his arms out of India; for, among other passages that might be cited in proof of it, is the following relation of Mr. Wilford's often cited Dissertation on Egypt and the Nile; that Nile, whose very name, in Sanscreet books, is Creeshna.

"CREESHNA was VEESHNU himself, according to the most orthodox opinion; and it was he who visited the countries adjacent to the Nile, destroyed the tyrant SANCHASURA, introduced a more perfect mode of worship, cooled the conflagrations which had repeatedly desolated those adust regions, and established the government of the Cutila-Cesas, or genuine Egyptians, on a permanent basis."

I do not mean to travel over the old and well-beaten ground of the labours of Hercules, but there are a few of them so connected with the Sanscreet narration of facts ascribed to Indian deities and heroes, that I cannot avoid mentioning them. Thus, the origin of the story of the Grecian Hercules slaying the Lernæan hydra (if not merely astronomical, and alluding to the sun rising as the constellation Hydra set, and consequently extinguishing the numerous stars in that constellation, poetically called its flaming heads) is evidently traced in CREESHNA, or the deity in the present instance incarnate in Hercules, as formerly in Osiris, or Dionysius, destroying the dæmon Sanchasura, or serpent-king of Egypt, with his army of snakes, his drawing him from his shell or palace, extirpating that numerous race of reptiles, clearing those worse than Lernæan fens,

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 256.

draining the marshes, and making canals to carry off the waters from the inundated Delta. Again, most of the circumstances in the story before alluded to, I mean that of the two serpents attacking Hercules in his infancy, are to be found in the adventures of the infant Creeshna with the serpent Caljya, who twined itself round his tender limbs, and would inevitably have destroyed him, had not the portion of divinity with which he was endowed rendered him invulnerable both to his assault and the poison that issued from each of his thousand flaming mouths*; a remarkable accumulation of resembling incidents, and certainly, from the great antiquity of the Indian fable, not borrowed by the Hindoo from the Grecian mythologists. The event of the combat was, that the divine child tore his thousand heads from his mangled body; and, *setting his foot on each of them*, danced upon them in triumphant exultation. The labours of conquering the wild boar of Erymanthus, that desolated Arcadia, and of attacking and expelling, from the same district, the Stymphalic birds, dreadful with iron beaks and leathern wings, who fed on human flesh, are again recognised in a legend of the Hindoos, in which the VARAHAS (whose leader was Varaheswara, or the king of a race in the form of *white boars*, said to have first peopled Europe, called, in Sanscreet, Vara-Dweepa) made war on the SARABBAS, a sort of monster, with the face of a lion and wings like a bird. The legend on which these tales are probably founded, has not been yet translated by Mr. Wilford; but he promises it us in a future essay; and, possibly, the boar of Erymanthus, the most formidable chief of his fierce tribe, was only some tyrant, who, like the Mohammedan sovereigns of the *white* and *black ram*, bore the symbol of that animal on his banners; while the Stymphalides were, doubtless, cannibal or Troglodyte pirates, who infested the lake

* Manuscript Life of Creeshna, from the Persian of Fyzee, in the possession of the author.

Stymphalus, in Arcadia, and the neighbourhood of the Peloponnesus, washed by the Ægean and Ionian seas. Mr. Wilford justly remarks, that the whole story of this war, according to Hesiod, was engraved on the shield of Hercules.

If Hercules tamed the formidable bull of Crete, Creeshna likewise had an adventure with an Assoor, in the form of a most tremendous bull, "in size like a mountain, breathing flames, whose brazen feet tore up the ground, while his lofty horns pierced the sky." Of this bull, the infant deity, seizing the horns, threw him on his back, and, after a desperate struggle, twisted his neck from his body*.

Again, one of the most famous exploits of Hercules was the recovery of his kine and flocks that had been stolen by Cacus, a notorious robber, who dwelt in the inaccessible heights of Mount Aventine, in Italy; which theft was discovered by the accidental lowing of some of the oxen in the cavern where they were confined. Now it is scarcely possible to read the account in the history of Creeshna of the theft of the herds and cow-boys of Nanda's farm, by Brahma, commenced terrestrial robber to try the divinity of Creeshna; of his hiding them all "in the cave of a mountain quite inaccessible;" of the yearning of the milch-cows when they heard the lowing of the calves as they grazed on the outside of the cavern, and the untimely giving down of their milk at the sound; without supposing the one legend a copy of the other, however in minuter parts differently related, and however incongruously assigned may be the characters†.

With respect to the particular labour of Hercules conquering Busiris, who was accustomed to sacrifice human victims on the altar of his father Neptune, but who was afterwards slain on that altar,

* Manuscript Life of Creeshna. † Ibid.

a legend nearly similar is to be found in the Poorauns concerning Creeshna and Bhaveswara, or Bhava, with the title of Eswara, the destroying power of India, added to it. "Bhaveswara," observes Mr. Wilford, "seems to be the Busiris of Egypt; for, Strabo asserts positively that no Egyptian king bore that name, though altars, on which men were anciently sacrificed, were dedicated to Busiris, and the human victims of the Hindoos were offered to the consort of Bhaveswara. The Naramedha, or sacrifice of a man, is allowed by some antient authorities; but, since it is prohibited, under pain of the severest torture in the next world, by the writers of the most esteemed Poorauns, we cannot imagine that any Brahmin would now officiate at so horrid a ceremony; though it is asserted by some that the Pariar nations, in different parts of India, disregard the prohibition; and that the Carharas, who were allowed by PARASU-RAMA to settle in the Concan, sacrifice a man, in the course of every generation, to appease the wrath of RENECU-DEVA, his mother."

The fable of the earth-born giant Antæus, whom Hercules destroyed by holding him up in the air, and squeezing the breath out of his body, appears to be the exact counter-part of the engagement of the infant Creeshna with the two gigantic Rakshas, sent by Cansa to destroy the child, who defeated them by disjointing every limb of one of them, and strangling the latter while struggling together in the air*; while that of his vanquishingGeryon, a tyrannical monster, with three bodies, or in other words three princes in alliance, reigning over three separate cities, but united in interest and blood, bears too near a resemblance to Seeva vanquishing the three sons of Tarekee and Treepoor, and their three cities, to admit a doubt of its being of Indian origin.

* Manuscript Life of Creeshna, in the British Museum.

Before we conclude this account of Hercules and his invasion of India, from classical writers, it is necessary again to remind the reader of that perpetual spirit of allegorizing which distinguished them scarcely less than the Indian fabulists, and which generally terminates in a comparative reference to the sun, its operations, and motions. Thus the battle of Hercules, who, I ought before to have mentioned, is, by some of the Greek writers, recorded to have been appointed general of Egypt during the absence of Osiris on his Indian expedition; his battle, I say, with Typhon, or Tuphon, (a word in Arabic signifying *deluge,)* which took place after the death of Osiris, may mean nothing more than the vigour of the solar heat, or Sol in Hercule, drying up the waters of the inundated Delta; also his extensive travels and his various labours may, in great part, be resolved into the progressive journey of the solar orb as it regards the zodiac, the equator, and the two tropics, within which the most celebrated labours of Hercules were performed; while his pillars, situated at the western extremity of the old continent, designate the supposed limits of his travels in that region of the globe. This may appear to have, but, in reality, it has not, a direct tendency to destroy the credit of what has been historically related above; for, it will be remembered that Creeshna is the Indian Apollo, and Bali, or Belus, the Phœnician and Assyrian Baal-Samin, or lord-illuminator of heaven. The sun, in fact, seems to be the grand agent that opens and closes the scene of all Oriental history whatsoever in the earliest ages of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Invasion of India by SEMIRAMIS, *Queen of* ASSYRIA, *as detailed by classical Writers; with introductory Remarks relative to the History of that ancient empire and* PERSIA, *as given in the* POORAUNS.

I SHALL commence this chapter on the invasion of India by Semiramis, queen of Babylon, in a similar manner with those on the incursions by the sovereigns of ancient Egypt, with a few concise observations, founded on Sanscreet documents, relative to the origin of that monarchy, so intimately connected with India. The Poorauns, we see, evidently prove its superiority in point of antiquity to the latter, since it was after the destruction of the first Padma-mandira, or sacred pyramidal temple, erected on the Cumudvati, which, in Mr. Wilford's opinion, was the tower of Babel on the Euphrates, (in other words, after the confusion of languages and the dispersion,) that those on the Nile were erected to the goddess on the lotos, that innocent allegory of the more virtuous among Noah's descendants, for the spirit that brooded on the primordial waters. This is another interesting proof of the truth of the Mosaic statements. Whether these Padma-mandiras were the pyramids or not is of little consequence: the massy pyramidal mode of erecting them was conformable to the Cuthite rites and customs, and the mythology, though corrupted, bore the Mosaic stamp. I am in the present, as in former instances, inclined to assign the oldest possible date to the Chaldæan empire, and for fully admitting the test

adverted to before as the truest criterion of that antiquity, the account of the astronomical observations reaching back to a period of 1903 before Christ, recorded by Porphyry to have been sent by Calisthenes from Babylon to Aristotle* at the time of Alexander's conquest of that city. That sum, we have observed, added to the intervening 330 years between that conqueror and Christ, makes exactly 2233, another remarkable coincidence with the Mosaic writings. Neither religion nor the sciences can flourish till empires are formed, and adequate protection can be afforded. I consider, therefore, that empire as thus early formed, and that protection as thus early extended, to the predecessors of Berosus in the superb temple of Belus, and, with the chronologers Petavius and Jackson, am induced to fix the age of Semiramis (whom I consider as a *real* and not a *fictitious* character) about 1964 years before Christ. The early date here assigned to that science will not appear incredible when it is recollected, that, in a passage of Eusebius, preserved by Josephus, that writer states Abraham to have taught astronomy in Chaldæa some ages before this period†. But let us take a cursory retrospect of the history of a country which may be called the mother of India, since from it the great Bali, early emigrating in an eastern direction, established the first dynasty of native sovereigns on the banks of the Ganges.

After the departure of Cush and his followers for Egypt and the countries nearer the RISING SUN, the splendid object of their idolatry, Nimrod, his youngest son, established himself in that empire; and by the Sanscreet name of NIRMARYADA occurring among the ancient tyrannical sovereigns of Misra-Sthan, as previously noticed, it should seem as if his empire included even that remote region.

* Simplicii Comment. in Aristot. de Cælo, p. 123.

† Antiq. Jud. lib. i. cap. 7, μετα δε τον κατακλυσμον δεκατη γενεα, in *the tenth race after the flood.*

Besides Babel, his capital, the Hebrew writer affirms Nimrod to have built three other cities, the first of which is termed Ereck, a name which, according to Dr. Hyde, (a not less excellent Oriental geographer than astronomer,) may be yet traced in that part of Assyria at present denominated by the Arabian writers the Babylonian Irak, or Erak. Of the immediate successors of Nimrod and his son Belus (that Belus who emigrated to India) on the Babylonian throne, history has recorded only the names and the number, which is six, and may be seen in Syncellus*. The hordes of Arabia Petræa, who must also have been Cuthites, for Cush is the Oriental name of that country, afterwards rushed in upon the cultivated territories of Babylonia, and, subjugating the country, that dynasty became extinct. Their names, but not their history, are also enumerated in Syncellus. After their extinction, the name and empire of Babylonia became absorbed in that of Assyria, of which Ninus, the founder of Nineveh, and husband of Semiramis, was the first sovereign on record. The above is the history of the most ancient Babylonian sovereigns, as given by Diodorus Siculus from Ctesias, and their reigns are said to have taken up a period of 440 years; but it must be owned that both their reigns and the extended period of them are considered as very doubtful points by the best modern historians and chronologers, who are more generally inclined to consider Ninus, above-mentioned, as the immediate progeny of Belus, the son and successor of Nimrod. If, however, they are to be admitted into the serious page of history, the period of their reigns must be considerably abbreviated, since the æra which we have above fixed upon for that of Semiramis, is the one most consonant to probability and the general current of ancient events.

The result of this inquiry is, that about the nineteeth century

* Syncelli Chronograph. p. 90.

before Christ, Semiramis, queen of Assyria, having, by the death of Ninus, her husband, succeeded to the sole sovereignty of the vast empire which his arms and valour had acquired, undertook her celebrated expedition into India, an expedition which, from the romantic circumstances recorded to have attended it, has been frequently ranked among the grossest fables of antiquity, but to the general truth of which the annals of India recently investigated bear unequivocal testimony.

But the ancient annals and history of India also bear witness to the truth of a most important fact, which is proper to be detailed before we enter on the immediate actions of Semiramis, since it not only opens a new view of the subject, but, in some degree, accounts for the restless ambition, in the first place, of the Assyrian, and, in the second, of the Persian, monarchs, their successors, to subjugate the envied nation emigrated beyond the Indus.

In his essay on the ancient Persians, Sir William Jones relates a discovery which he had recently made concerning the primæval sovereigns of this region of Asia, for which he was first indebted to Mir Mohammed Husain, one of the most intelligent Mussulmen in India, a discourse which cast a gleam of light not only on the primæval history of Iran, but of the human race themselves in the earliest ages. By his means he obtained a sight of an invaluable work called the Dabistan, composed, from authentic Persian records, by Mohsan Fani, a native of Cashmere, containing the important information "that a powerful monarchy had been established for ages in Iran before the accession of Cayumers, that it was called the Mahabadian dynasty, and that many princes, of whom seven or eight only are named in the Dabistan, and among them Mahbul, or Maha Beli, had raised their empire to the zenith of human glory." If this evidence, which to him appeared

unexceptionable, can be relied on, the Iranian monarchy must have been the oldest in the world.

In examining the truth of this novel and wonderful intelligence, our author set about comparing the oldest dialects of the Persian and Sanscreet languages, and, on minute examination, with confidence declared to the Asiatic Society, "that hundreds of Parsi nouns are pure Sanscreet, with no other change than such as may be observed in the numerous vernacular dialects of India, that very many imperatives are the roots of Sanscreet verbs, and that even the moods and tenses of the Persian verb-substantive, which is the model of all the rest, are deducible from the Sanscreet by an easy and clear analogy. On perusing the Zend glossary, presented to the public by M. Anquetil in his famous ZENDAVESTA, he was inexpressibly surprised to find that six or seven words in ten were pure Sanscreet, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the Sanscreet grammar. Now," he observes, "M. ANQUETIL most certainly, and the Persian compiler most probably, had no knowledge of Sanscreet, and could not, therefore, have invented a list of Sanscreet words; it is, therefore, an authentic list of Zend words which had been preserved in books or by tradition; and it follows that the language of the Zend was at least a dialect of the Sanscreet, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the Pracreet, or other popular idioms, which is known to have been spoken in India two thousand years ago.

"If, however, it may be urged, a nation of Hindoos ever possessed or governed the country of Iran, we ought to find in the very ancient ruins of the temple or palace, now called the THRONE OF JEMSHID, some inscriptions in Devanagari, or at least in the characters on the stones at Elephanta, where the sculpture is unquestionably Indian, or in those on the STAFF of FIRUZ SHAH, which

exist in the heart of India; and such inscriptions we probably should have found if that edifice had not been erected after the migration of the Brahmins from Iran, and the violent schism in the Persian religion, of which we shall presently speak; for, although the popular name of the building at Istakhr, or Persepolis, be no certain proof that it was raised in the time of JEMSHID, yet such a fact might easily have been preserved by tradition, and we shall soon have abundant evidence that the temple was posterior to the reign of the Hindoo monarchs."

Another proof he finds in the primitive religion of Persia previous to the Sabian superstition having been perfectly pure and patriarchal; but he subjoins, "a system of devotion so pure and sublime could hardly, among mortals, be of long duration; and we learn from the Dabistan, that the popular worship of the Iranians, under HUSHANG, was purely Sabian, a word of which I cannot offer any certain etymology, but which has been deduced by grammarians from *Saba, a host*, and particularly the *host of heaven*, or the *celestial bodies*, in the adoration of which the Sabian ritual is believed to have consisted. There is a description in the learned work just mentioned of the several Persian temples dedicated to the sun and planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent processions to them on prescribed festivals, one of which is probably represented by sculpture in the ruined city of JEMSHID. But the planetary worship in Persia seems only a part of a far more complicated religion which we now find in these Indian provinces; for, MOHSAN assures us, that, in the opinion of the best informed Persians who professed the faith of HUSHANG, distinguished from that of ZERATUSHT, the first monarch of Iran and of the whole earth was MAHABAD, a word apparently Sanscreet, who divided the people into four orders, the *religious*, the *military*, the *commercial*, and the *servile*, to which he assigned names unquestionably the

same in their origin with those now applied to the four primary classes of the Hindoos. They added, that he received from the Creator, and promulgated among men, a sacred book in a heavenly language, to which the Mussulman author gives the Arabic title of Desatir, or Regulations, but the original name of which he has not mentioned, and that fourteen MAHABADS had appeared, or would appear, in human shapes for the government of this world. Now, when we know that the Hindoos believe in fourteen MENUS or celestial personages with similar functions, the first of whom left a book of *Regulations* or *Divine Ordinances*, which they hold equal to the Veda, and the language of which they believe to be that of the gods, we can hardly doubt that the first corruption of the purest and oldest religion was the system of Indian theology invented by the Brahmins, and prevalent in those territories where the book of MAHABAD, or MENU, is at this hour the standard of all religious and moral duties. The accession of CAYUMERS to the throne of Persia seems to have been accompanied by a considerable revolution both in government and religion. He was most probably of a different race from the Mahabadians, who preceded him, and began, perhaps, the new system of national faith which HUSHANG, whose name it bears, completed." Sir William concludes with expressing his firm conviction, "that the religion of the Brahmins prevailed in Persia before the accession of CAYUMERS, whom the Parsi, from respect to his memory, consider as the first of men, although they believe in an universal deluge before his reign*."

From the above authentic statement, it appears that the Indians, or, at least, a great part of the nation, being originally emigrated Iranians, were, in some degree, considered by the Assyrian sovereigns subjects revolted from their power; and this circumstance

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 61.

accounts for those repeated attacks made upon them by those sovereigns in every æra of that ancient empire. It does not appear, however, that they ever penetrated far beyond the western frontier and the Panjab; at least it is evident, from the whole tenour of the account, that the scene of the exploits of the first celebrated invader, Semiramis, was the region bordering on the Indus. Of that invasion the following are the particulars transmitted by the classics, and asserted by Diodorus to be extracted by Ctesias from the archives of Babylon.

The vast empire of Assyria, recorded at that period to have extended from the Persian Gulf to the banks of the Tanaïs, and from the Indus to the Nile, being in profound peace, that vain-glorious princess turned her restless and ambitious thoughts towards the conquest of a country distinguished by its immense wealth, unequalled beauty, and luxurious fertility of soil. Her preparations were, on all occasions, as formidable as her designs were grand and comprehensive, and she, who erected the towers of haughty Babylon from the dust, deemed it not impossible to level the loftiest cities of India. For three years, we are informed, the army appropriated for the intended irruption was forming, and the bravest and most expert soldiers, from all the provinces subject to Assyria, were enrolled in its number. They were to assemble by a certain fixed period in the kingdom of Bactria, and thence to descend, like a tempest that sweeps all before it, on the devoted country beyond the Indus*.

Semiramis had heard that the chief superiority of the Indians in any land engagement lay in their elephants; they boasted that to produce those animals was the peculiar privilege of their own country, and thought themselves invincible whilst they had such

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. p. 90, et seq.

formidable champions, at once to defend themselves and spread destruction through the ranks of the enemy. To destroy this source of confidence, she is said to have ordered a certain number of counterfeit elephants to be formed out of the skins of beasts curiously sewed together, and stuffed out in such a manner as to resemble the form of that unwieldy animal. These enormous fabrics were placed on the backs of camels, and had each a particular attendant allotted as its conductor, after the manner of real elephants.

As the Indus was to be passed, and the passage might be disputed, her maritime preparations are represented as not less powerful than those by land. She collected, therefore, from all parts, those who were skilled in the construction of vessels proper for the transportation of her innumerable forces over that river, and artificers from Phœnicia, Cyprus, and all the sea-ports bordering on her Syrian dominions, awed by her menaces, or allured by her bounty, flocked to her capital. In the mean time whole forests were cut down to facilitate the project. Such expedition was used in the execution of her commands, that in the third year from their commencement, these mighty efforts being completed, the immense army of the Assyrians assembled on the frontiers of Bactria towards India, while their naval armament darkened all the western shores of the adjoining Indus.

Staurobates is said, by the Greek writers, to have been at that period the reigning monarch of India, and consistently with the native accounts, he must have been of the dynasty of the Suryabans, or race of the sun, who sat on the throne during the first ages of the Cali Yug.

According to Sir William Jones's chronological arrangement of the ancient sovereigns of India, he ought to be one of the immediate successors of Nandiverdhana, the fifth emperor of the Magadha, or Bahar, dynasty, and probably was one of the four name-

less sovereigns whose reigns amount to the 138 years necessary to complete the sum of those that form the dynasty in question*.

Staurobates, undaunted by the menaces of Semiramis, and unmoved at the report of her formidable preparations, which seemed to threaten no less than the entire destruction of his empire, prepared with equal vigour to defend himself against the incroachment of a foe, provoked by no insults, and inflamed by no wrongs, but urged only by the blind fury of ambition to attempt the subversion of the ancient throne of India. To ward off the expected blow, it became necessary that the whole resources of the empire should be called forth, and all the forces it contained should be brought into immediate action. An army, far superior in number even to that of the Assyrian queen, was in a short time collected, and every arm able to draw the bow or launch the javelin was extended in its defence. A more numerous train of elephants than had ever yet assembled on her plains, and decorated with every dreadful apparatus of offensive war that could impress an enemy with terror, was brought together to support this immense army, and to crush the enemy advancing in vain confidence of victory. But the urgency of so critical a situation required not only the most strenuous exertions by land; a marine, proportionably numerous, was likewise indispensably necessary to the salvation of the empire. To obtain this additional security, 4,000 barks were, with all expedition, constructed out of those large bamboo canes, with which the Indian rivers abound, and which are neither subject to rot or be eaten of the worm. These, strongly compacted together, formed vessels equally calculated for swiftness and security. In these vessels, without delay, a considerable body of the Indian forces embarked, and waited in order and silence the approach of the Assyrians.

* See the enumeration of the Bahar sovereigns of Hindostan in the Asiatic Researches.

If any credit can be given to the exaggerated account of Suidas, the army of Semiramis consisted, on this celebrated expedition, of above 4,000,000 of infantry and cavalry, 100,000 chariots armed with scythes, 200,000 camels for various uses, and 3000 vessels*. The appointed general of this vast force was Dercetæus; although the queen herself, when she arrived near the scene of action, took the command, and marched in person at the head of her forces. When this vast train arrived at the banks of the Indus, and Semiramis observed the enemy's fleet arranged along the opposite shore, she gave orders for the immediate launching of the vessels she had constructed, and manned them with the most determined and experienced soldiers in her army. The shock is recorded to have been terrible, and the battle, for a long time, was obstinately maintained on both sides; but the greater experience in naval concerns of the Phœnicians and other maritime adventurers, who attended the Assyrian army, and who had been judiciously blended with the troops, gave, at length, a decided superiority to her fleet, and victory declared for the invaders. Above a thousand of the Indian vessels were sunk, and an immense multitude taken prisoners. The triumph of victory added new fury to the wild and boundless ambition which goaded the mind of Semiramis. She commanded her generals to let loose their fury upon the frontiers of the invaded country. The whole coast of the Indus was desolated for many leagues, and many rich and noble cities in its neighbourhood were first plundered and then levelled with the ground.

The wary Indian monarch, although discomfited, disdained to despond under the difficulty that involved him; but, rallying his forces, retired to some distance from the Indus, and, drawing up his troops in order of battle, invited the exulting enemy to renew

* See Suidas on the word Semiramis.

the engagement by land. Semiramis, mistaking this politic and cautious retreat for precipitate flight, immediately ordered a bridge of boats to be constructed and extended quite across that wide and turbulent stream, on which, with her whole army, she prepared to pass with all the arrogance of a conqueror. Having arrived in safety on the eastern shore, and appointed a guard of 60,000 men to defend the bridge, she hastened with far more celerity than prudence to the field of battle, disposing her counterfeit elephants in front to intimidate the enemy, who, at the sight of them, was seized with equal wonder and consternation. That wonder, however, was turned into just contempt, and that consternation into shouts of triumph, when, by some deserters from the Assyrians, they were informed, that the objects of their astonishment were only the artificial fabrication of the martial genius of Semiramis, and that the war-elephant still remained the peculiar and unrivalled appendage of an Indian army. To remove every apprehension on that head, heralds were commanded, by sound of trumpet, publicly to proclaim this intelligence throughout the camp; and the van of either army now meeting, commenced the important conflict that was to decide the fate of India.

At the first onset, a circumstance occurred which greatly contributed to keep alive the ardour of the Assyrians, and inspire them with the strongest hopes of a decisive victory. The advanced legions of the Indian army consisted of cavalry and armed chariots, and the horses, to whom elephants were no novel objects, rushed on to the conflict with dreadful impetuosity; but when they approached nearer the line of those pretended animals, the strong and offensive odour emitted by the hides so terrified and scared them, that they were immediately thrown into the utmost disorder: the greater part threw their riders to the ground, or hurried them amazed and nerveless into the very centre of the Assyrian army.

The active exploring eye of Semiramis, who was on fire to finish the undertaking she had so successfully begun, soon discovered the disaster, and that intrepid princess, instantly placing herself at the head of a select body of her bravest veterans, rushed upon the disordered ranks of those advanced legions, effected their complete overthrow, and drove them back to the main body of the Indians. Staurobates, unable to account for this fresh malady, was equally confounded and astonished, but, quickly recovering from his confusion, exerted himself with resolution proportioned to the emergency, and moved forward with that vast body of infantry which composed the centre. The elephants followed after in an immense train, and, in a short time, both armies were completely and in every part engaged. Than such an engagement, if imagination has not had too great a share in its formation, nothing can be conceived more terrible and sanguinary; whether we consider the number of the contending armies, or the magnitude of the prize for which they separately fought. In fact, we are told, that the shock was beyond description violent, that the action was long and obstinate, and the carnage terrible, as well from the number as ferocity of the real elephants in the Indian army, who, raging through the field, spread havoc and dismay among the ranks of the enemy, while their monstrous and inanimate representatives, on the contrary, served only to encumber the Assyrian army and impede its motions. Harassed by the resolute assaults of the Indians on the one hand, and trampled by the enraged elephants on the other, the fortitude of the Assyrians at length gave way, and they were pursued with great slaughter from the field to the banks of the Indus. Towards the close of the engagement, the monarch of India and the empress of Assyria met, and a personal combat ensued between these mighty competitors for fame and empire. Conspicuous throughout the day on an elephant of uncommon magnitude, the former had fulfilled every duty

of an active and wise commander, and the latter had fought with that romantic spirit of heroism which distinguished every action of her life. She now hoped to bring the important point in debate to a speedy conclusion, and, by the death of Staurobates, obtain the summit of her wishes. All her efforts, however, were ineffectual; nor was she fortunate enough to make her royal antagonist feel the force of any weapon, hurled by her arm. Staurobates, on the contrary, twice wounded the female invader of his realm; the first time with an arrow that grazed her arm, and the second time with a javelin that pierced her shoulder. Stung with the agony of her wounds, but still more deeply galled by the rout of her army, whom she beheld flying on every side from the field in the utmost disorder and confusion, the distracted queen now turned the head of her horse towards the Indus, and arrived in time to superintend the disgraceful passage of her squadrons over that river on which they had so lately been triumphant. The passage, however, was not accomplished but with considerable hazard and with the loss of the greater part of her remaining forces; for, so hot was the pursuit of the Indians, that, to avoid their fury, thousands plunged into the stream, and were drowned; while thousands more were trampled down in the hurry of tumultuous debarkation, and received a far less honourable death than their companions who died bravely fighting in the field of battle. The enraged Semiramis now prepared to take a severe revenge for the defeat of her troops. Observing that the gross of her army had gained the shore, and that the Indians continued to pursue them over the bridge which she had constructed, she commanded that bridge to be suddenly cut down, by which an immense multitude of Indians were instantly ingulphed, while others were hurried down that rapid stream, or dashed to pieces on its rocky banks.—This is the substance of what Diodorus Siculus hath handed down to us on the authority of Ctesias. Other

writers of antiquity represent the sequel as still more fatal; for we are informed by some, that she perished in the expedition; and by others, that she made her escape with only twenty persons in her retinue*.

On the whole of this piece of history, it may be remarked, that, though there can scarcely be a doubt of there having lived, in the early ages of the Assyrian empire, such a person as Semiramis, (for some authors, as we have seen above, have even doubted her existence,) yet, that she ever performed such wonderful feats as are ascribed to her, or in person led even an army into India, much more an army of such astonishing magnitude, in that infant state of the world, is a circumstance in the highest degree suspicious. Sir Walter Raleigh†, on this subject, has very properly observed, no one place on earth could possibly have nourished so vast a concourse of living creatures as, on this occasion, are said to have assembled in Bactria, "had every man and beast but fed on grass." And the remark of a later writer‡, on the million which Xerxes is said to have conducted out of Persia into Greece, is pointedly applicable to the imaginary myriads of Semiramis; that the destruction of so mighty a host must have convulsed the whole of Asia; that "numerous as the sands of the shore" is an expression which, at all times, has been used by Oriental writers in regard to defeated armies; and that the source of these misrepresentations exists in the exaggerating fancy of poets, in the insatiable pride and exorbitant ambition of princes, and in the servile adulation of their biographers.

I have already observed, that, from the romantic nature of her exploits and the exaggeration of her historians, the whole history of

* Consult Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 107; and Strabo, lib. x. p. 745.

† See Raleigh's History of the World, p. 125.

‡ Mr. Richardson's Dissertation on Eastern Manners, &c. p. 54, oct. edit.

Semiramis and her triumphs has, by many judicious historians and critics, been considered as fabulous. Mr. Bryant contends, that no such persons ever existed as Ninus and Semiramis; that, by the former, we must understand the Ninevites collectively; and, by the latter, a people called Samarim, from their insigne, which was a dove expressed Semaramas. He is of opinion, that the actions of a whole dynasty have been ascribed to two individuals; for, he admits that those people conquered the Medes and Bactrians; extending their dominions westward as far as Phrygia and the river Tanais, and southward as far as Arabia and Egypt. Under them, also, he contends, the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon were united; and that this union of the two empires is allegorically termed the marriage of Ninus and Semiramis.

Then it was, our learned and sagacious author adds, that the Samarim performed the great works attributed to them. For, exclusive of what was done at Babylon, which they built; "there are," says Strabo, i. 16, "almost over the face of the whole earth, vast mounds of earth, and walls, and ramparts, attributed to Semiramis; and in these are subterraneous passages of communication, and tanks for water, and stair-cases of stone. There are also vast canals to divert the course of rivers, and lakes to receive them; together with highways and bridges of a wonderful structure." They built the famous terraces at Babylon; and those beautiful gardens at Ecbatana, after that city had fallen into their hands. They found out the art of weaving cotton; which discovery has been given to those of their family who went into Egypt; for, there were Samarim there too. The Samarim of Egypt and Babylonia were of the same family, the sons of Chus.

Although some historians have represented Semiramis as a woman, and a great princess, who reigned in Babylon, yet others, of better intelligence, have mentioned her as a deity. "She was,"

says Athenagoras, "esteemed the daughter of Dercetus, and the same as the Suria dea." Semiramis was said to have been changed into a dove; because they found her always depicted and worshipped under that form. Among the Assyrians, the dove was particularly held in veneration; διο και τους Ασσυριους την περιςεραν τιμᾳν ὡς θεαν. Hence it seems plain, that Semiramis was an emblem; and that the name was a compound of Sama-Ramas, or Ramis. It signified the *divine token, the type of Providence.* As a military ensign, it may, with some latitude, be interpreted *the standard of the Most High.* It consisted of the figure of a dove, which was probably encircled with the Iris, as those two emblems were often represented together.

One of the gates of Babylon was called the gate of Semiramis, undoubtedly from having the sacred emblem of Sama-Ramis, or the dove, engraved over it. Probably the lofty obelisk of Semiramis, mentioned by Diodorus, was named from the same hieroglyphic. The Cuthites settled about Cochin and Madura, in India; and the great kings of Calecut were styled Samarim even in later times, when those countries were visited by the Portuguese and English.

The image of the Suria dea was richly habited, and upon its head was a golden dove. What is very remarkable, the image was by the people called Σημηϊον. Lucian takes pains to inform us, that this was not a Grecian but a Syriac word, a term made use of by the natives. He writes in the Ionic dialect; and what he calls Σημηϊον was by the people expressed Sema-Ion, or Sama-Ion, *the token of the dove, the emblem of the Arkite Iönah.*

According to Hesychius and others, by Semiramis was particularly signified a wild pigeon; and there is reason to think, that this intelligence was derived from some ancient tradition: and that Noah did send out of the ark a dove of the wild species; for a tame one would have returned upon the least difficulty, perhaps of choice:

a wild one would not, but through necessity. Such a return plainly indicated, that the earth was not yet habitable, and afforded the intelligence required*.

A very considerable portion of what Mr. Bryant has thus sagaciously conjectured has been confirmed, by Mr. Wilford, in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches, which has recently come to my hands, and in which I am happy to find an express dissertation on the subject of Semiramis, abundantly demonstrating the existence of that personage, and at the remote period which I have assigned to her. It is, as usual, deeply, and almost inextricably blended with their mythology; and Seeva and Parvati are again brought forward to act their parts on the historic drama. As far as it is possible to analyze the story, that analysis is here submitted to the candid reader: it must be read, like most of the foregoing matter, as a legend founded on the basis of historic truth!

To every exalted personage, in Asiatic antiquity, mentioned in Hindoo books, a divine origin is invariably assigned. It is an appearance of Veeshnu or Mahadeva. It is an emanation of the almighty power, manifest, for important purposes, among mortals. In truth, Ninus and Semiramis are those two deities, under a different name, but not form; for, it is most remarkable *that form is a dove*. On some disgust, taken by Parvati, at the licentious amours of the *generative god*, she left Kilass, his celestial palace, and went and took up her abode in Cusha-Dweepa. The penitent god pursued in vain. To arm herself with direr power of vengeance, she practised severe austerities in Vahni-Sthan, a mountainous district of that kingdom, for nine years. A fire sprang from the head of the incensed goddess, which was nearly proving fatal to that whole region; and men and animals fled from it with precipitation.

* Analysis, vol. ii. p. 97.

Unwilling to injure animated nature, she repressed the rage of the fire, and confined it to the SAMA-TREE, where she thenceforth fixed her abode. That tree she made the place of her dalliance. Thence she was denominated Sami-Rama, or *she who dallies in the Sama-tree*. It is still thought to retain the sacred fire; and Pooja is even yet performed, at certain seasons, in India, to SAMA-RAMA and the SAMA-TREE, round whose fires the Devatas exult*.

Mahadeva, soon after assuming the form of a dove, (a form certainly not the least proper to regain his consort's alienated affection,) accomplished his end; and she herself, also, being transformed into the same bird, they travelled round the world together. With the fire that issued from them, the result of intense devotion, they consumed the long grass that had overspread the earth, (that is, cleared it of the obstacles of culture,) and with it the impure tribes, *Mileechas* and *Yavanas*, or bands of infidels and robbers, who were accustomed to conceal their spoils under the covert of that long grass, were also destroyed in the general conflagration: a very intelligible fiction concerning the triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis in their attempts to civilize the first savage race of men. At their command, the clouds, pouring down water, quenched the conflagration, and left a country proper to be inhabited by the *four great tribes*, who rushed on every side, into Cusha-Dweepa, and who soon formed a powerful and wealthy nation. After the conflagration, it is added, all sorts of metals and precious stones were discovered; which seems to prove, that the Indians believe what was asserted in our former volumes, that their first discovery was owing to the burning of vast forests, or to volcanic eruptions, melting the strata near the surface of the earth.

The four tribes, however, soon deviated from the paths of rec-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 364.

titude, and became like Mileechas; while the Yavanas re-entered Cusha-Dweepa, spoiling and ravaging the whole country, They complained to Sami-Rama, who came and resided among them; while Mahadeva received the addresses of the pious at Mochsa-Sthan, or Mecca, in Arabia, whence, in the Poorauns, he is styled Mocsh-Eswara. Among the pious, who came thither, was a prince named Virasena, to whom, after a long series of ardent devotions, (without which, no boon from heaven can be obtained in India,) Mahadeva appeared, and, in reward, constituted him king over Sthavaras, or the immoveable part of the creation, whence he was called Sthavarapati, written by the Greeks, Staurabates; and the hills, trees, plants, and grasses, of every kind, (that is, in fact, all the world,) were ordered to obey him. His native country was near the sea, probably the regions adjoining the Indus; and he began his reign with repressing the wicked, and insisting on all his subjects walking in the paths of justice and rectitude. In order to make his sovereignty acknowledged through all the earth, he put himself at the head of a numerous army; and, directing his course towards the south, he arrived at Mochsa-Sthan, where he performed rites in honour of Mocsh-Eswara, according to the rites prescribed in the sacred books. From Mocshesha, he advanced toward the Agni-Parvatas, or fire-mountains, in Vahnisthan (Bactria perhaps); but they refused to meet him with presents, and to pay tribute to him. Incensed at their insolence, Sthavar-Pati resolved to destroy them. The officers on the part of Sami-Rama, the sovereign of Vahnisthan, assembled all their troops, and met the army of Sthavar-Pati; but, after a bloody conflict, they were put to flight. Sami-Rama, amazed, inquired who this new conqueror was; and soon reflected, that he never could have prevailed against her without a boon from Mahadeva, obtained by the means of what, in India, is called Ugra-Tapasya, or a Tapasya performed with intense fer-

vour. She, therefore, had a conference with Sthavar-Pati; and, as he was now, through his Tapasya, become a son of Mahadeva, she told him she considered him in that light, and would allow him to command over all the hills, trees, and plants, in Vahnisthan. The hills then humbled themselves before Sthavar-Pati, and paid tribute to him*.

In this account, under a deep veil of mythology, we have the story of the contest for empire between Semiramis and Staurabates; with this difference, that the latter here is the aggressor, in the first instance, and still the victor in the last. It is not only in the similarity of the name, but in other circumstances of her history, that we discover the identity of person between Sami-Rama and Semiramis; for Semiramis is said, by Diodorus Siculus, to have been born at Ascalon; and the Pooraums affirm, that the first appearance of Sami-Rama, in Syria, was at Aschalana-Sthan†. Semiramis, we have seen, is represented, by the classical writers, as having been fed by doves in a desert, and retiring from earth in the form of a dove. According to the Pooraums, Capatesi, or the dove, was but a manifestation of Sami-Rama. It was equally the warlike insignia of Assyria, and the emblem of peace and harmony. One of the names of this Syrian goddess, or deified princess, is MAHA-BHAGA, or the prosperous goddess, which is no other than the name of Hierapolis, where stood her temple. The Syrian name of Mabag is an evident contraction of that term. There is, also, in the same learned essay, a romantic story concerning the origin of Ninus, under the name of Lilesa, but not sufficiently decent for the eye of an European reader. The characteristic circumstances perfectly correspond: he is said to have conquered the universe; to have been married to Sami-Rama; and both to have passed

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 365.

† Ibid.

their lives in a series of voluptuous pleasures*. Many Babylonian names are, in this essay, traced to a Sanscreet source. Ninus, the Assyrian, who built Ninevoh, is properly, Ninus-Eswara, *i. e.* Ninus, the lord or sovereign. The Syrian appellative of Mylitta, applied to Semiramis, is, in Sanscreet, Militia-Devi, or, because she brings people together, *connuba:* Nimrod, from Nima-Rudra, because Rudra gave him half his strength: Vahnisthan means the same as Agnisthan, the region of fire; it is properly Azar-Bijian, in Sanscreet, the *spring of fire.*—To conclude this article of Semiramis: her festival is still observed, in India, on the tenth day of the lunar month of Aswina, or about the fourth of October. It is a festival of lamps lighted under the Sama-tree: rice, flowers, and sometimes strong liquors, are the offerings. The praise of Sama-Rama-Devi, is sung; and herself and her favourite tree receive the adorations of the transported multitude.

Such a multitude of legends, nearly consonant with the Grecian fables, are discovered in the Pooraums, as incontestably prove, that, through the medium of Egypt, the sages of Greece, during their travels in the former country, or their residence in the colleges of the Thebais, must have gained a sight of the sacred volumes, which record them; for, the farther I advance, the more necessary I still find it to adhere to the maxim on which I originally set out, as a sort of basis for future argument; that, of two nations, professing a system of mythology in its great outlines intimately corresponding, *the elder has an undoubted right to the palm of originality.*

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 365.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Invasion of India by Sesostris, King of Egypt.

THE character and history of Sesostris are involved in obscurity scarcely less penetrable than that which envelopes the persons and exploits of his predecessors on the plains of India. Not inferior in wisdom, in valour, and in magnificence, to Osiris, with whom Sir Isaac Newton improperly confounds him; nor exceeded, in the vastness of his projects and the wildness of his ambition, by Semiramis herself, Sesostris flourished on the throne of Egypt, according to Eusebius, in the eighteenth century before the Christian æra; but, according to that great chronologer, far later in the history of the world. There were in fact two celebrated kings of this name, who reigned in Egypt; a circumstance which has occasioned great confusion and warm contentions among the various chronologers. Without entering in this place into minute and uninteresting discussions on that head, we shall in general observe, that Sesostris, the invader of India, is represented by Diodorus*, the Sicilian, to have been no less gigantic in person than in the comprehensive grasp of his mind; to have been equally powerful by land and by sea; the dispenser of wise laws at home, and the irresistible disposer of sovereignty abroad.

But before I enter upon the particulars of this celebrated inva-

* Diodorus asserts, that he was in height four cubits and four hands breadth, which is six feet ten inches. Lib. i. p. 51.

sion of India, since Sesostris belongs to a dynasty of Egyptian sovereigns, during the existence of which the most stupendous event, recorded in the annals of the world, was transacted, the hypothesis, upon which this work has all along proceeded, will not permit me to advance farther, without paying that due consideration to it which an event of such infinite moment demands. Its connection too with the Indian history, from the *Pallis*, or *shepherds*, being the principal actors in the early part of the scene, as well as the strong and irresistible light, which many circumstances in the subsequent relation, some of them entirely new to the English reader, throw on the sacred Scriptures, are farther inducements with me not to pass unnoticed the following interesting details.

The repeated and positive proofs, collected from the Brahmin records, in the preceding pages, of the migration of the PALLIS from India to Egypt, at a very early period of those respective empires, added to what we know from other ancient authors concerning the dynasty of shepherd-kings that ruled in Egypt, lead to consequences extremely important, with regard to a people, whose peculiar destiny and wonderful history (though mounting up to the highest post-diluvian antiquity) have purposely not yet been discussed in the present volume; I mean the people so particularly favoured of the true God, the HEBREW NATION. They, also, were a race of shepherds; and if they were not originally of the same stem with the Pallis, they were at least first stationed in Egypt under that celebrated dynasty. It is a circumstance, too, that cannot fail of forcibly impressing the attentive mind of the Christian reader, when I inform him, that Goshan, in Sanscreet, means a *shepherd;* that Goshana, in the same dialect, means the *land of shepherds;* and that a considerable Indian tribe at this day remains distinguished by the name of Goswani.

The eternal decrees of Providence had determined, for purposes ever wise but ever inscrutable to man without revelation, that this race should undergo a bondage of many toilsome years in that kingdom; that this bondage and their signal delivery by his own interposition should serve as the basis of a stupendous scheme of sublime theology, to be inviolably treasured and preserved among them through a series of revolving centuries, till the proper æra should arrive for unfolding that scheme to man in all its purity and splendour. From various circumstances it should appear, that this arrangement was made by Providence on purpose to fulfil those decrees; for, it is peculiarly deserving notice, that to the native inhabitants of Egypt, both in the early and late æras of their empire, *shepherds were ever an abomination.* The Pallis seem to have emigrated from India before the propagation by the second Rama and Buddha of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul into the bodies of inferior animals, and, like other shepherds, fed upon the flesh of the animals which they reared; or, perhaps their habit of living, entirely different from the generality of the Hindoos, might itself have been the blameless cause of their expulsion. At all events, by observing the accustomed regimen of shepherds, and by banqueting on the flesh of cows, sheep, and goats, they grossly insulted the aboriginal Egyptians; they eat their gods; for the Cow was the sacred symbol of their second great deity, Isis; their devotion to astronomy had sanctified the RAM as the chief of the zodiacal asterisms; and the flesh of sheep was therefore prohibited them either to feed upon or to sacrifice. The flesh of GOATS was in like manner forbidden them, as being the symbol of their mighty PAN, venerated under that form, as Hanuman was in India under that of the APE. The genuine Egyptian monarchs would never have suffered the pastoral race of Israel to bring their flocks and herds in multitudes into Egypt, settle among the Phœnicians, or Palli, in the

land of Goshen, and pollute their tables with their flesh, and their altars with their blood; and the necessary result is, that Divine Providence, for the accomplishment of his own wise purposes, ordained and brought about the subjugation of its native sovereigns by a dynasty of shepherd-kings, to facilitate the introduction of the Israelitish shepherds, and their settlement in Goshen under their protection. This assertion may by some be thought to be the acme of superstition; but, in every dispassionate view of things, the operation of that Providence in this business must appear distinct, manifest, and decided; for when the object intended was fully accomplished, when, in the course of their long abode in Egypt of 215 years, that is, from the birth of Levi to their departure, the Hebrews had become, under their protection, a great and numerous people, the shepherd-kings, who themselves only enjoyed the throne of Egypt 259 years, were expelled by a general insurrection of the native princes. It was under this new dynasty of Egyptian kings, who *knew not Joseph, and to whom shepherds were an abomination*, an abomination not only because they reared cows, sheep, and goats, (the gods of Egypt,) for the purpose of feeding upon them; whereas fish, grain, and some kinds of birds, formed the principal part of the provision of the native Egyptian; but because the Phœnician shepherds were the conquerors of their country, and ruled them two centuries and a half with a rod of iron; it was under this dynasty, I say, that the Israelites were so grievously oppressed from a spirit of deep-rooted revenge in their new sovereigns, and of jealousy of their increasing numbers; and it was also on one of the Pharaohs, who constituted it, that their Almighty Deliverer got himself glory by overwhelming the tyrant and his host in the waters of the Red Sea.

The very existence of this shepherd-dynasty has been the subject of debate among the learned; and all the history that we have con-

cerning it is given in a solitary passage of Josephus against Apion, extracted from Manetho's account of the Egyptian dynasties. That authority might still be suspicious, were it not for this important and indisputable relation from the Sanscreet books of the conquest of Egypt by the Palli, who, it is remarkable in Josephus's account, are called *men from the Eastern regions.* The account being extremely valuable, and intimately connected with the subject of this history, is here inserted, as it may prove useful to those persons, who are at this time in India, making farther investigation into the history of this celebrated race of the Palli.

Were not, indeed, the genealogy of the race of Abraham so minutely detailed to us in sacred writ from a variety of resembling circumstances, the purity and sublimity of the primæval devotion of the Hindoos, as given us in the Bhagvat-Geeta, where the most sublime notions of the Deity are throughout inculcated, the similar account exhibited in their respective records of the intoxication and prophetic curse of Satyaurata, and many corresponding parts of the national code, as may be seen in Mr. Halhed's prefatory pages to that code, and Sir William Jones's Institutes of Menu, were it not on this account, and that the supposition involves in it a kind of impiety, I should be induced to consider the Jews as a tribe of the Pallis, and join with Josephus in determining them to be the same race with the Phœnician shepherds themselves. For such, however wonderful it may appear, was that historian's decided opinion in regard to the ancestors of his nation, and it is urged by him, in answer to Apion and others, who reviled the Jews as no better in their origin than slaves to the Egyptians; whereas his aim, however unsuccessful and injudicious the attempt, was to aggrandize his nation, by proving that at one period they were their lords and their conquerors, and wielded the powerful sceptre of that splendid dynasty.

"In the reign of our king Timaus," says Manetho, cited by Josephus, "God was, on some account, angry with us; and suddenly an *army of men from the Eastern region*, who were of obscure original, boldly invaded our country, and easily subdued it without so much as fighting a battle. These men, having got the rulers of it into their power, afterwards barbarously burnt the cities and demolished the temples of the gods. They likewise treated all the inhabitants in a most hostile manner; slaying some, and reducing others, with their wives and children, into slavery. At length they made one of their leaders king, whose name was Salatis. He fixed his seat at Memphis, and made the higher and lower country (of *Egypt)* tributary to him, and left garrisons in the most convenient places."

However reproached by the Egyptians with sanguinary cruelty in this invasion, no criminality probably adequate to so heinous a charge as is here brought against them may attach itself to the shepherds who subverted their temples. It was against those temples, erected to the basest of divinities, even the groveling bestial herd, that their rage was kindled and their vengeance pointed; it was against a race involved in the grossest idolatries, that, according to Manetho's own confession, they were made the instruments of the terrible vengeance of the Most High: and it should not be forgotten that an Egyptian, with all the partiality and prejudice of his country, relates the calamitous event.

There are also other circumstances plainly indicative of the direct interference of Providence on this momentous occasion. The shepherd-kings, who had never been able to accomplish the entire subjugation of the Thebais, though its princes were tributary to them, had their residence, as we have seen above, at Memphis, and it was in that capital, and in the reign of the fifth monarch of that dynasty, named Pharaoh Janais, in the 18th century before Christ, that Joseph entertained his five brethren and his father Jacob on

their arrival in Egypt. In the fraternal fondness of his hear the told his brethren that they and his aged father *should dwell near him*, and he placed them with Pharoah's own shepherds in the Heliopolitan nome, *which bordered on the Red Sea*, and of which the metropolis was On, or Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, a daughter of one of the priests of which deity, according to Genesis xli. 45, Joseph married. This country, being situated some leagues distant from the banks of the Nile, was not subject to the annual inundations of that river, and therefore was a more proper place of residence for shepherds and the pasturage of flocks than any other of the Egyptian nomes; it was sanctified by the previous residence of the patriarch Abraham, who had taught astronomy to the priests of Heliopolis; and it was a situation most convenient for their Exodus, when, at the call of Jehovah, they were to pass through the suspended billows of the Arabian Gulph; those billows that became a wall to them on the right hand and on the left. Their situation, therefore, on the Arabian side of the Nile, which river, in consequence, they had not to pass on their flight from their proud oppressors, and in Goshen, the district nearest to Phœnicia, are circumstances that must be considered as ordered by an all-seeing Providence.

In evidence of the migration itself of the Hebrews, Palemo, an ancient Greek writer, who composed a history of Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and who could have no interest in misrepresenting, is cited by Eusebius as affirming, " that, in the reign of Apis, son of Phoroneus, part of an Egyptian army retired out of Egypt and settled in Palestine, a district of Suria not very remote from Arabia*;" which is a palpable, though pardonable, mistake, by a Greek, of an Egyptian for an Hebraic army, as the Egyptians equally detested and dreaded the Phœnician pastors, and were also

* Eusebii Præp. Evan. lib. x. cap. 10.

utterly adverse to them both in their civil institutions and their religious ritual. Apion, also, a learned Alexandrian and a determined enemy of the jews, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, and was the antagonist of Josephus, is brought, by the same author, to attest, that he was expressly informed by Ptolemy, of Mendez, in his Egyptian history, that the Jews, under Moses, their leader, went out of Egypt in the reign of Amasis*; a circumstance confirmed also by Herodotus, in the second book of his history; and though there the Hebrew nation is degraded by being represented as if expelled for the leprosy, yet, by this very evidence, the fact itself is placed beyond all doubt. Again, Artapanus, who lived about a century before the Christian æra, expressly affirms, in Eusebius, that "the Heliopolitans relate, that their king, with a great army, at the head of which were borne the sacred animals, pursued the Jews, who had carried away the goods which they borrowed of the Egyptians. But Moses, by a divine command, smote the sea with his rod, upon which the waters gave way, and their whole army marched through upon dry land; and, whilst the Egyptians went in after them and pursued them, lightnings flashed in their faces, and the sea returned into its channel, and overwhelmed them; so that the Egyptians, partly by lightning, and partly by the surges of the sea, perished to a man, while all the Hebrews escaped unhurt†." The circumstance here mentioned of lightnings flashing upon the Egyptians is likely to have been traditionally remembered, and is almost a literal translation of those words, that the Lord looked upon them through the *pillar of fire and the cloud*, and troubled the host of the Egyptians.

With respect to this scandalous story relative to the cause of the departure of the Hebrews, as if they were afflicted with a leprous distemper, it probably took its rise from either or all of these causes;

* Eusebii Præp. Evan. lib. x. cap. 11.

† Eusebii, lib. ix. cap. 27, p. 436.

some perverted account of the *grievous murrain*, with which Egypt was punished on their account; or from the circumstance of Moses's hand having become leprous at God's command, for, when taken out of his bosom, it was *as white as snow*, Exodus iv. 6; or the slaughter and destruction by the sword of the destroying angel of all the first born of Egypt. In respect to their miraculous passage through the Red Sea, we have the additional support of Diodorus, who acquaints us, that the Icthyophagi, a people who inhabited the southern borders of the Red Sea, had an immemorial tradition relative to an extraordinary phœnomenon that took place in very ancient æras, in regard to that sea,—the reflux of its waters by which it was dried up to the very bottom*; for, to use on this occasion the express words of Strabo, who also records the solemn fact, "There is an ancient tradition among the Icthyophagi, who live on the borders of the Red Sea, which they had received from their ancestors, (εκ προγονων,) who inhabited that shore, and was preserved to that time, that, upon a great recess of the sea, every part of that gulph became quite dry; and the sea, falling to the opposite part, the bottom of it appeared green; but returning with a mighty force, regained its former place." The rude Icthyophagi remembered this calamity†: the Egyptians chose to erase the memory of it from their minds and their annals‡.

To return from this digression on the Israelites in Egypt, to the invasion of India by Sesostris, the proper subject of this chapter. —Notwithstanding Osiris and Sesostris, as was before observed, are confounded by even so great a chronologer as Sir Isaac Newton, the two characters are as perfectly distinct as the æras in which they flourished are remote. The former was the great legislator of Egypt and the founder of that ancient monarchy; while the latter greatly extended the bounds of that empire, adorned Egypt with

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. p. 174. † See Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 760.
‡ Eupolemus also in Eusebius asserts this, lib. ix. cap. 17.

many noble edifices, and enriched her code of laws with many wise institutions. It having been predicted to Amenophis, the father of Sesostris, while he was yet unborn, that he should one day be lord of the whole earth; with a view to verify the flattering prediction, and to provide him with faithful ministers and affectionate soldiers of his own age, he collected together all the male infants throughout his kingdom that were born on the same day with Sesostris, and ordered them to be trained up in the same habits, instructed in the same arts, and accustomed to the same athletic exercises. After a long and severe course of discipline and study, the accomplished band of youthful statesmen and warriors were summoned from the seats of science to the field of active exertion. To inure them at once to every hazard and toil of military life, they were sent on an expedition into the hitherto unconquered region of Arabia; where, amidst barren deserts, venomous reptiles, and a subtle and intrepid foe, they found full scope for the exertion of all their patience, skill, and fortitude. They returned victorious from this their first campaign, and their success was looked upon by Amenophis as the certain presage of future and more brilliant triumphs.

Resolved, however, that their ardour for glory should not cool, nor the experience they had acquired become useless through inaction, he soon sent them with a larger army towards the west, with which they penetrated into the remotest regions of Africa, conquered many savage nations, ravaged many powerful kingdoms, and, having gained a sight of the vast Atlantic, its boundary, returned once more to Egypt, crowned with laurels and laden with spoil.

The death of Amenophis, which happened shortly after, seemed to be the signal given by fate for the commencement of those splendid events, which were to dignify Sesostris with the promised sovereignty of the earth. He determined, therefore, without delay, to begin his new career of glory, and attempt the subjugation of all

Asia. An army, adequate to the accomplishment of so grand a design, was immediately collected together from the most distant quarters of his dominions, consisting only of those who were in the flower of their age, and in the vigorous possession of their matured faculties. When assembled for the review of the king, this force consisted, according to Diodorus Siculus, of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 chariots of war*. The chosen companions of his infancy and sharers of his former glory, who were near 1700 in number, were appointed to various posts of honour and eminence in this vast armament; and every breast throbbed with the high and sanguine expectations of their commander. That no inferior consideration might divert their minds from pursuing with vigour the grand object of this expedition, before this faithful band left Egypt he settled upon each of them and their families for ever a portion of the royal domains, adequate to every purpose of maintaining that distinguished rank among their fellow-citizens which their services entitled them to expect, and of which their virtues finally proved them to be deserving.

The politic lessons he had in his youth learned, did not permit Sesostris to leave Egypt without other wise precautions, which were necessary to keep his kingdom, during so long an absence as seemed necessary to accomplish his views, in undisturbed subjection to his authority. He, therefore, in the first place, divided the vast kingdom of Egypt into thirty-six nomes or provinces, and appointed able and faithful governors to command them. A lavish distribution of wealth and honours, a general amnesty of all crimes, and an absolute remission of all debts, followed that cautious measure, and operated in the most forcible manner to fix the loyalty and attachment of his subjects.

There remained, however, one great obstacle to his views. An

* Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 48-50.

army, however formidable, without a fleet to co-operate with it on the coast of the invaded country, seemed to him by no means competent to effect its complete subjugation; and unfortunately the Egyptians, at this early period of their empire, had, from certain superstitious motives, an utter aversion to the sea. In their allegorizing style they termed it the monster Typhon, the evil genius and determined enemy of Osiris, whose capacious jaws swallowed up their venerated Nile. Sesostris was indefatigable in his efforts to provide one. He succeeded in conquering their rooted antipathy to naval concerns; for, Herodotus, when in Egypt, was informed by the priests, that Sesostris* was the first who fitted out a fleet of long ships, with which he sailed down the Arabian Gulph into the Red Sea, and reduced the inhabitants of the coast under his dominion; till his farther progress was stopped by the shoals and the danger of the navigation, when he returned to Egypt. The Red Sea, or Mare Erythræum, as we have before remarked, was that which we now call the Indian Ocean; for, how otherwise could Sesostris have sailed through the Arabian Gulph into the Red Sea, unless the present Mare Indicum anciently went by that name? Diodorus†, who is more particular in regard to the number of vessels, says, that Sesostris had a fleet of four hundred long ships, with which he sailed into the Red Sea, and conquered all the islands of it, and all the sea-coasts as far as India. The latter author adds, likewise, that, probably with a view towards reconciling the Egyptians to naval concerns, he constructed a most magnificent vessel of cedar, two hundred and eighty cubits long, richly ornamented on the outside with devices in gold, and within beautified with plates of silver, which he consecrated to Osiris. Manetho, who, as we have already intimated, compiled an Egyptian history from inscriptions on the pillars in Upper Egypt, has asserted, that Setho-

* Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 102.

† Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 48-50.

sis, or Sesostris, had, at the same time, another powerful fleet acting in the Mediterranean, with which he conquered Cyprus, Phœnicia, and the neighbouring coasts. Whether or not this fleet ever existed any where but in that imagination which fabricated the ante-diluvian dynasties that bear his name, it is not so much our business to inquire as to pursue the operations of the Indian navy, which, sailing beyond the Persian Gulph, traversed the southern coasts of the peninsula of India; reducing, in its progress, the cities in those parts, and probably establishing colonies of Egyptians, who might long remain in subjection to the sovereigns of Egypt. This latter circumstance seems not to be mere conjecture, but derives considerable weight from the known custom of conquerors in those days, and from what is expressly reported of the conduct of Sesostris in peopling the cities he took; especially in his having established a colony at Colchis, who, says Herodotus, from ocular observation, bear in their appearance the distinguishing features, the swarthy visage, and short curly hair, of the Egyptians. It is farther strengthened by a consideration of the intimate connection that for many ages subsisted between the two countries, united, as they were, by commerce, influenced by congenial customs, and at least not very dissimilar in the rites of religion. In a Persian history quoted by Ferishta*, and said to be written by an author of good authority, it is related, that the Afghans are of the race of the Cibthi, (Copts, or Egyptians,) who were ruled by Pharaoh; and, being expelled about the time of Moses, took up their residence in the mountains of Hindostan. To this remark may be added another of Sir William Jones, "that the mountaineers of Bengal and Bahar can hardly be distinguished in some of their features, particularly their lips and noses, from the modern Abyssinians." After coasting, with imminent hazard, the peninsula, the fleet ar-

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 37.

rived near the *mouths* of the Ganges; where, as Dionysius at its *sources*, so Sesostris is said to have erected triumphal pillars, inscribed with his name, that of his country, and a recital of his victories. This was the extreme eastern boundary of the expedition by sea; and it is not impossible that the words of Herodotus above cited, may allude to that peculiar danger of navigation to inexperienced seamen, in this part, of which Captain Hamilton speaks, and those innumerable sands and shoals that block the entrance of this celebrated river*.

Having taken this cursory view of the operations of the naval armament of Sesostris, which, though cursory, is as ample as can be collected from ancient Greek writers of repute, and, indeed, considering the utter uncertainty of the subject, as ample as it merits from an historian not wholly devoted to the fabulous, we must direct our attention to those of the invading army: and here we have a detail of great and surprizing events from the sober pen of classic history, that must startle every reflecting mind, and is scarcely credible even for those periods of romantic daring. With the vast army before enumerated, Sesostris, or Sethosis, as the Greek writers more commonly denominate him, (though, on the Egyptian obelisks that record his triumphs, he is styled by a name not very dissimilar from that of the great Indian hero,—RAMESES,) with this vast army, that most celebrated of the Egyptian sovereigns left his capital of Memphis, and first shaped his course towards the maritime region of Phœnicia and Syria, which he expeditiously subjugated. He then directed his progress towards the Upper Asia, and bent beneath his yoke the monarch of Assyria; thence pursuing his victorious career, he entered the more northern district of Media, which he completely subdued. In this part of the narration a circumstance very deserving of notice should not be omitted; for, from

* Diod. Sic. p. 51.

these two latter kingdoms being thus separately mentioned, we have evident proof that the event took place before the Median was swallowed up in the vortex of the vast Assyrian empire, and an important point in chronology is thus incontrovertibly settled. It was probably after his conquest of Media that he led his army by the usual route into the Northern India, whose remotest mountains he penetrated, and thence continuing his progress eastward, he crossed the Ganges, nor stopped, if we may believe Diodorus and the geographer Dionysius, till he had reached the ocean that forms the boundary of Asia on this quarter*. In this secluded region he is said by these authors to have erected pillars descriptive of his conquests, which, as in every other part, were engraved with a singular species of symbol, expressive of the fortitude or cowardice of the inhabitants of the conquered countries; the former quality designated by the male organs of generation, the latter by the female. Some of these pillars were remaining in the time of Herodotus, who saw them in Palestine-Syria, while others were seen by Strabo in Æthiopia and Arabia†. In addition to these memorials of his prowess he also caused gigantic statues of himself to be erected, bearing in one hand a *javelin* and in the other a *bow*, with inscriptions that sufficiently mark the arrogance of this haughty conqueror.

Sesostris was now the undisputed lord of the whole continent of Africa: the spacious provinces of the Higher Asia had experienced the desolating ravages of an army, animated by principles far less noble than those which led the benevolent Osiris to the same field; the south and the east had fallen before him, the north and west were yet to be subdued. With an ardour that defied the rigour of hyperborean climes, he passed the eternal snows of Caucasus in pursuit of glory, amid the wilds of Scythia and the forests of Thrace. Among the Scythians, according to Diodorus, his arms were crown-

* Dionysius de Perieg. verse 625, and Diod. Sic. p. 50.
† Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 166, and Strabo, lib. xvii.

ed with equal success; for, he is said to have conquered that nation as far as the river Tanais, although it must be confessed the event is very differently related by Justin, who informs us, that his troops were defeated, at the river Phasis, by a Scythian monarch of the name of Tanaus, and driven back to the very frontiers of Egypt*. The former relation, however, is more generally admitted by ancient historians as representing the truth; and, in proof of it, may be alleged the information contained in Herodotus, concerning his having founded a colony and fixed a kingdom at Colchis, on the river Phasis, at the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea. He asserts, that, down to his own time, the inhabitants of that region acknowledged their descent from an Egyptian founder; and that, in their aspects, persons, and habits, both civil and religious, they carried very evident testimony of that descent; that, in particular, they used one remarkable rite in common with the Egyptians,—that of circumcision; that their language bore a striking affinity to the Coptic; and that, among the archives of Æa, the capital of Colchis, were reposited the maps of their journey, performed during their migration from Egypt, with accurate designations upon them, describing the limits of sea and land, whence geography took its rise†. After this, he is represented as crossing over the Hellespont into Europe, and subjugating Thrace; but, in this expedition, he was so obstructed by the natural difficulties of a country as yet unsubdued by the arm of industry, and, amidst its rugged mountains and steep defiles, was in such imminent danger of losing his army and perishing by famine, that he was compelled to make the Thracian kingdom, after defeating and slaying Lycurgus, its sovereign, the utmost limit of his conquest on the west. These discouraging circumstances, added to the treachery of his brother Armais, the supposed *Danaus* of the Greeks, who had usurped his

* Compare Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 49, with Justin, lib. ii. cap. 3.

† Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 103.

throne and his bed, induced this great conqueror to commence his return towards Egypt, where he arrived with an innumerable band of captives of all nations, and with an immense booty obtained in the plunder of Asia, after an absence of nine years. He returned only to encounter new dangers from the base practices of his unworthy brother, who, feigning repentance and submission, would have sacrificed himself and all his family at a banquet prepared for him at Daphne, near Pelusium, but the good fortune of Sesostris triumphed over the designs of that traitor; who, being exiled into Greece, gave birth to a new power in that region; a power which, rising by slow degrees, in the end, gave law both to Egypt and Asia.

The reign of Sesostris, known in India, as a conqueror, by the name of Sacya, and supposed, but with much violation of just chronology, to be the Sesac of Scripture, forms a memorable epoch of magnificence and glory in the Egyptian history. Finding himself incumbered with an immense number of captives, and with proportionate riches, he made them both subservient to the aggrandizement and decoration of his native country. The former he employed in erecting a vast rampart of stone, that extended from Pelusium, through the desert, to Heliopolis, with a view to fortify that region of Egypt against the incursions of the Arabian and Syrian robbers; in raising temples in every city of his empire to the peculiar deity of the place; in digging, in some places, extensive canals for the more equal distribution of the waters of the Nile; and, in others, throwing up mounds, to secure them from the devastations of that river in the period of its inundation. The latter he expended in adorning the inside of those temples, in rewarding merit, as well in the military as in the civil line, and promoting useful arts and manufactures. Among the more stupendous monuments of his magnificence should not be forgotten those two majestic obelisks, erected at Thebes, 120 cubits in height, with in-

tent to eternize his triumphs. It is to one of these obelisks that Pliny alludes, when he informs us, that, in the cutting of it from the quarry, no less than twenty thousand men were employed; and, when it was erecting, the king, apprehensive that the machines were not sufficiently strong to raise so vast a weight, or that the workmen might sink under the undertaking, ordered his son to be tied to the top of it, to engage the artificers, from regard to his safety, to take the utmost precaution that it should not fall or break. When Cambyses took the city of Thebes, and set it on fire, and the flames, spreading to the temple, reached to the base of this obelisk, which was erected in the area of it, he was so struck with the amazing grandeur of the column, that he ordered the flames to be extinguished, which were ready to destroy it. One of these obelisks, probably the only one that remained, bearing the name of Ramessæan, from Rameses, the builder, was brought to Rome by order of Constantius, and placed in the great circus. The same, having been thrown down and broken by the Goths, was, in the pontificate of Sixtus the Fifth, found buried six yards deep in mud, and was, by that pope's order, erected close by the church of St. John de Lateran, in the year of our Lord 1588.

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning the Invasion of ASSYRIA *and* INDIA *by the ancient* SCYTHIANS, *as detailed in classical Writers, compared, with the Account of the irruption into the same Countries of* OGHUZ KHAN, *by the Tartar Historians.*

THE great Hercules, upon whose exploits and character we have already dwelt in such detail, is reported, by Herodotus, in a very wild tale, to have been the progenitor of the Scythians. In his peregrination through Asia, having arrived at that desolated, and then uninhabited, region of the globe, he is said, during a sleep occasioned by his incessant fatigues, to have lost the mares that drew his chariot; and, it is added, that in his search after the strayed animals, he met with a monster compounded of a woman and a serpent, and that from his embrace with that monster, sprang three sons, of whom Scythes, in strength most resembling his father, because able to bend his bow, became the first monarch of the Scythians. This romantic legend concerning the *woman* and the *serpent* is here only mentioned as one of the numerous marked mutilations of the great primæval tradition, which, under various modifications, we have traced through the whole circuit of the Greater Asia. In Eendra's paradise, at the beginning of time, serpents engendered of a woman guarded the AMREETA, or *water of immortality*: add to this, that the figures of Narayen, or the supreme deity moving on the waters, Lachsmee (a beautiful woman) and a serpent, according to Mr. Forster, are frequently found combined, and are a

prominent symbol in Indian pagodas*. Indeed, with all the Eastern cosmogonies, is interwoven an infinity of serpentine emblems and allusions. Mithra has his serpent; Osiris combats with the serpent Python; Syria has its egg and serpents; Phœnicia has its serpents entwined round pillars and climbing up trees. In Greece, and in the Orphic theology, Hercules himself was represented under the mixed symbol of a lion and a serpent, and sometimes of a serpent only. M. D'Ancarville derives all this from a Scythian source, and, in part, from this very legend: for my part, I cannot but persevere in referring the whole system to the higher and more sacred origin intimated above.

A fondness for establishing a new hypothesis led the same writer to exalt the Scythians of remote periods to the first rank of conquerors and philosophers. Their arts extending with their arms from the polar to the southern regions of Asia, according to that hypothesis, gave sovereigns and letters to the infant kingdoms of Assyria, India, and Egypt, then generally considered as part of Asia. The system of D'Ancarville at first surprised and dazzled his readers, but, at present, has few advocates, since whatever himself and M. Bailly have asserted concerning the sciences, especially the astronomy, of the ancient Scythians is now known to be true only of a northern race of Brahmins, situated near the great range of Caucasus. These Brahmins, originally emigrating from the grand school of the Chaldæan Magi, at Babylon, carried with them letters and the arts northwards as far as the borders of the Caspian and Euxine; and, mingling afterwards with the learned colony of Egyptians, before intimated to have been established at Colchis, diffused the hallowed flame of science, and caused it for ages to flourish through all the provinces adjoining on the north and east to Iran, or Persia, Bactria, Media, Sogdiana, Tibet, and Cathaia. If they are to be

* See Mr. Forster's Sketches of the Hindoos, p. 11.

denominated Scythians, the proper name should be Indo-Scythians; but these are, in every respect, far different from the savage hyperborean race, alluded to by M. Bailly and D'Ancarville, who tenant the dreary wilds of Siberia, in the latitude of Selinginskoi, near the 60th degree of northern latitude. The attestations, however, of Diodorus Siculus, Justin, and other classics, whom those writers have produced as their vouchers, prove a very extended influence of the Scythian power over the regions of the Higher Asia. That they established any regular empire in the conquered, or rather plundered, provinces, over which their hordes had spread themselves, can scarcely be credited; much less that they continued sovereigns over them, or retained them tributary during fifteen hundred years*, when their expulsion from the southern Asia, under Ninus, took place. Quitting these far-fetched ideas of their wisdom and prowess, we find no genuine memoirs of any grand irruption, in those ancient times, of the Scythian or Tartarian tribes, into the southern Asia, till the reign of Oghuz Khan, whom Abulghazi Bahadur, the only authentic historian of that nation, records to have been contemporary with Caiumeras, the first regular king of Persia, of the Pishdadian family; but the æra of whose reign it is impossible with certainty to fix, though Sir William Jones, in his short History of Persia, inclines to think him the same monarch with the *king of Elam* mentioned in Scripture†. A very remarkable statement, in favour of the preceding assertion, is to be found in the same author's Essay on the Tartars, viz. that the genuine traditional history of the Tartars, in all the Oriental books which he had inspected, begins with Oghuz in the same manner as that of the Hindoos commences with Rama; and, he adds, that they all place their miraculous hero and patriarch four thousand years before Jengis Khan, who was born in the year 1164 of the Christian æra‡.

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 127; et Justin. lib. ii. cap. 3. † Nadir Shah, p. 39, first edit.
‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 25.

So little was really known of Ogyges by the Greeks, and his æra ascends to periods of such high antiquity, (every thing ancient being called by them *Ogygian,)* that it is not impossible but they might have formed the Greek from the Scythian term; collecting at the same time, from their neighbours, the Scythians of Colchis, the portion of Scythian history relating to the conquests of this prince. In fact, that æra reaches nearly up to the Noachic deluge itself; for, even the Tartar historian states him to have been the grandson of Mogul, or Mung'l Khan, the immediate descendant of Japhet, through the line of Gog and Magog, the Yajuj and Majuj of the Arabian historians. Magog was the second son of Japhet; and, in that word, the origin of the name may be clearly traced.

According to Abulghazi, this war of Oghuz began, like all the Indian contests in the first ages, on the score of *religion*. His own subjects and those of all the neighbouring kingdoms had deserted the faith of their ancestors, the true patriarchal religion. After a series of domestic and foreign contests, which continued during seventy-two years, he re-established the religion of Japhet in his own dominions, and in those of Thibet, Tangut, Kitay, and other states more immediately adjoining. Enjoying a very prolonged life, he afterwards made war on Iran, or Persia, considered in the most extended sense of the word, during the minority of Husheng, grandson of Caiumeras, while that country was distracted by the divisions of its nobles, in consequence of the infancy of its monarch. He is said first to have besieged and taken Chorasan, the capital of the province of that name. The provinces of Irak, or Babylon, Azerbigian, and Armenia, were next subdued and made tributary. Returning thence, Oghuz advanced with an innumerable force towards the northern, and at that time probably the most powerful, provinces of India; Cabul, Gazna, and Cashmere. The first two provinces were speedily subjugated; but, at Cashmere, he found an obstinate resistance from JAGMA, the ruling prince, (possibly JAMADAGNI,

the head of a great Hindoo family in the north of India, and of royal descent,) who, by fortifying all the avenues of the stupendous mountains that form the natural barrier of that province, and by lining with soldiers of determined bravery the banks of the numerous rivers that intersect it, retarded his progress for an entire year. At the completion of that period, the perseverance of Oghuz surmounted every obstacle; the opposing army was routed with great slaughter; and the troops of the conqueror, pouring down on all sides into the city, massacred the greatest part of the inhabitants. The brave, but unfortunate, JAGMA himself, being too dangerous a rival to be suffered to live, was devoted (though certainly not in the spirit of Japhet's religion) to destruction; and Oghuz returned to his hereditary dominions by way of Badakshan, the territory of the ancient Massagetæ and Sogdiana. This last-mentioned circumstance proves those hereditary dominions to have been situated far beyond, and to the north of, these provinces, in the vast regions that lie between the domains of the Czar of Muscovy and the Emperor of China; and it is far from impossible that the territories of both those potentates were originally peopled by colonies, laterally branching out east and west, from the mass of this ancient and hardy people. There are other invasions into the southern regions of Asia recorded of Oghuz, in one of which he is said to have penetrated even to Sham, or Damascus, the capital of Syria, and to Misser, or Cairo, the capital of Egypt: but that above related is the principal, and the others may be the invasions of the chiefs of the race called, from him, Oghuzian, a title which the Ottoman Turks, who boast their descent from this monarch, are still fond of assuming.

By the course of the Hydaspes, one of the noblest rivers of the Panjab, an immediate descent lay open for the invaders into the more southern provinces of India, which we cannot suppose would be wholly neglected by a race whose object probably was plunder;

and this will account, in some degree, for that great mixture of Tartarian manners and customs which diligent observers of India have discovered to be interwoven with the sacred and civil institutions of India; for, the date of the invasion is so remote, as to allow this mixture before the full establishment of all the wise and various laws by which that vast empire is regulated. On his return, Oghuz entertained his sons, who were six in number, at a most magnificent banquet, under tents adorned with pomegranates of gold, richly set with precious stones; and, with the peculiar prepossession of the Tartars for the number *nine*, he ordered nine hundred horses and nine thousand sheep to be killed on the occasion, with such a proportionable allowance of fermented liquors, of which the Tartars were always extravagantly fond, served up in leathern bottles, whose amount was regulated by the sacred numeral, and mares' milk, alike their ancient and present beloved nutriment, as in those days was considered in the highest degree sumptuous.

It has already been noticed from Diodorus, cited by M. D'Ancarville in support of his Scythian hypothesis, that the Scythian power, in the south of Asia, met with a final overthrow from the arms of Ninus; but, unless we admit Caiumeras to a much higher station in antiquity; unless we allow him to have been in reality, as the Persians presume, one of the earliest sovereigns after the deluge, and of the Mahabadian, or Beline, dynasty—Ninus, though, doubtless, recorded by Diodorus to have driven back the Scythians of Bactria from their predatory incursions, could never have put a period to the Oghuzian tyranny, which, according to Abulghazi, took place at a period so much later than that in which Ninus flourished. The attack made by Ninus on Bactria, at that time the frontier province, towards Persia, of the great Scythian or Tartarian empire, abounding, if Ctesias may be credited, with noble cities, and fortresses no less impregnable by art than by nature, is one of the most celebrated exploits in the antiquities of Asia. The

reigning sovereign was Oxyartes, a chief of great experience in war, and commanding intrepid subjects, of whom he is said to have collected 400,000 in the field to oppose the invader, whose force, according to the usual exaggerated accounts of Asiatic armies, is said to have consisted of a million and a half of infantry, 200,000 cavalry, and 10,000 armed chariots. Oxyartes drew, with all his forces, towards the high range of mountains, a part of the Paropamisus, that separate Bactriana from Persia and India, and form its boundary on that side. The very superior numbers of his army allowing the Assyrian monarch to divide his forces into three columns, each of equal magnitude to the whole army of the Bactrians, he attempted and effected an entrance at different parts through the difficult passes of those mountains; but, before any considerable body had penetrated through them, or could be formed on the plain, the latter began an impetuous assault upon them, while fatigued with their march through those rugged defiles, and put them to flight. Fresh battalions, however, successively and resolutely rushing forward to support their comrades, the scale of victory became soon turned in favour of the invaders; and the Bactrians, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to betake themselves to their fortified cities and castles. From these cities they were driven by the victorious army, and compelled to take refuge in the capital of the province itself, denominated from it Bactria, which held out a tedious and obstinate siege. It was during the attack of this city, that the martial talents as well as beauty of Semiramis excited the attention and admiration of Ninus, and prepared the way to the immediate participation of his bed and throne. That heroine, dressed in military attire, was daily seen and conspicuously active in every part of the works. She animated the besiegers as well by her voice as her example; and, observing their time and attention to be principally engaged, not on the fortress itself, but on the bastions of the city, where even success would scarcely have gained them any decisive

advantage, she, with a select band of assailants skilled in escalade, pushed forward to the citadel itself, climbed up the steep rocks on which it was situated, and hoisting her victorious banners on its summit, invited the Assyrian troops to make the assault where victory waited for them and glory was certain. The attack was instantly made; and the capital of Bactria, and the power of Scythia, bowed its head before the superior genius of Ninus and Semiramis. It should be noticed, that Ninus is expressly said, by Diodorus, not to have made any impression upon India, during either this or his former campaigns; the glory, or rather disgrace, of that enterprize was left, we have seen above, to his partner and successor*.

The next important irruption of the Scythians at all connected with Indian history, and therefore alone necessary to be mentioned here, took place under Cyaxares, the first sovereign of that name who sate on the throne of Media. Media was, at that time, one of the most powerful empires of all those that sprang up from the ruin of the great Assyrian monarchy, subdued by Arbaces. This is probably the grand irruption alluded to by the writers cited by D'Ancarville; but, unfortunately, it took place only about the middle of the seventh century before Christ, and could not, therefore, possibly have been attended with any important consequences to the arts and sciences, except their retardation and subversion among the people whom they visited. History records not the precise cause of their invasion, though Herodotus intimates that it arose in distractions among themselves, and that the nation properly termed Scythians, under their King Madyes, by Strabo called Indothyrsis, pursuing their Cimmerian enemies through southern Asia, overspread, with their innumerable forces, the rich and fertile empire of Media†. Cyaxares was at that time absent from his

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 94.

† See Beloe's Herodotus, the note, vol. i. p. 110.

kingdom, on an expedition against Nineveh, whose utter extermination he had vowed, and had already sate down before that declining capital in regular siege; but the instant destruction, which now menaced his own empire, induced him hastily to raise the siege, and march with the utmost expedition to endeavour to save the capital of Media. Every exertion which the short interval allowed was made by a prince whose wisdom was equal to his bravery; but in vain did he advance with the utmost force he could collect together against the deluge of barbarians that inundated his kingdom: though every thing was accomplished which a consummate general, at the head of undaunted soldiers, could perform, all their efforts were rendered ineffectual by the crowds of human savages that rushed down from all the heights of Caucasus and its neighbourhood; and Media, as well as the greater part of Upper Asia, including the region of India bordering on the Sind, was compelled to submit to their yoke. But the seizure of the immense spoil, which this irruption produced to them, was far from satisfying these insatiable marauders. They extended their depredations to Syria, and were rapidly advancing to the banks of the Nile, where Psammitichus, who then reigned in Egypt, came out to meet them on the frontiers of his kingdom; and, partly by submissive entreaty, partly by munificent presents, he prevailed upon them to desist from their intention of plunging Egypt into the horrors of that unbounded desolation which involved the rest of their conquests. Departing hence, a considerable part of their army broke into Palestine, and seized upon the district and city of Bethsham, on the river Jordan, where they settled; and that city was thenceforth called, from them, Scythopolis. From their new possession, however, they were afterwards expelled by Nebuchadnezzar, when he ravaged this part of Syria. The remainder of the Scythian army returned in triumph to the undisturbed enjoyment of their conquests in Upper Asia, of which they continued the sovereign disposers during twenty-eight

years, when a successful stroke of policy, executed by Cyaxares, enabled him to free his burdened empire from the farther oppression of those northern tyrants. On a certain appointed day, a great feast was prepared, in every family of the Median empire, for the entertainment of all the Scythians of distinguished rank resident among them. The latter, lulled into fatal security by the apparent civility and affected submission of the Medes, indulged in the licentious joys of the banquet, and suffered themselves to be overcome with the generous wines, for which Persia was also famous, and with which they were abundantly plied. In this defenceless situation, they fell a prey to the smothered vengeance of the enraged Medes, and all the men of rank and distinguished officers were massacred, while the great body without was vigorously attacked by the Median soldiery, and pursued beyond all the frontiers of Media. By this politic but treacherous measure, Cyaxares regained, with great slaughter, the sole sovereignty of his invaded realm; and thus was he left at liberty to pursue those projects of vengeance which, in concert with Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he afterwards manifested, in the destruction of Nineveh and the conquest of Egypt. The Scythians, thus precipitately driven away through every outlet of the Median empire, endeavoured to obtain a settlement in the neighbouring regions; some of them entered into the armies of the king of Babylon, and were instrumental to the subjugation of Tyre and of Egypt; others fled towards the coast of the Mediterranean; whence, according to the probable hypothesis of the indefatigable explorer of Hibernian antiquities, VALLANCEY, they emigrated towards the western Islands of Europe, their very name being preserved to this day in Scotia, or Scuthia, (equally applied in ancient time to Ireland and Scotland;) but the greatest part marched northwards, to their own proper domain, where they had a new war to wage with their slaves, who had seized upon their property and married their wives.

Although we have no express authority, from Sanscreet writers, for affirming that any considerable portion of this routed army settled in the Indian provinces, yet, from what we know of a race of Nomades, actually called *Nomardy*, who at this time inhabit many of the western banks of the Indus*, and travel, after the old Scythian method, in their wooden houses, from place to place, as pasturage is more or less abundant; as we know that the whole tract in question was anciently denominated Indo-Scythian; and as the Massagetæ, (or Great Getes, as they are called by D'Ancarville,) who inhabited the more northern districts adjoining India, not only ranked among the noblest tribes of the Scythians, but are known to be the ancestors of the Getes, a formidable race of robbers, situated, when Timur invaded India, in the very heart of that country†, and from whom the modern Jauts are sprung—from all these circumstances combined, we must be convinced that India, on its western frontier, at least, if not in its internal domain, severely felt the shock of this repulse of the Scythians. That violent contests had long subsisted between the Indians and the Hunns, the most savage of the Scythian tribes, who were originally inhabitants of Asiatic Sarmatia, is farther evident, from an inscription, in the most ancient Sanscreet dialect, found on a pillar near Buddal, translated by Mr. Wilkins; and to which that gentleman could not assign a date less early than that engraved on the copper-plate found at Mongueer, which was twenty-three years before Christ; an inscription in which, among the exploits of the mighty monarch to whose honour it was erected, and whose kingdom is said to have extended from the Cow's Mouth to Ceylone, is particularly mentioned the defeat and humiliation of that ferocious tribe. The passage is here given verbatim, together with the explanatory notes of the translator:

* See Major Rennel's Memoir, p. 291, edit. 1788.

† See Hist. of Timur Bec, vol. ii. p. 46.

"Trusting to his wisdom, the king of Gowr[a] for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Ootkal,[b] of the HOONS[c] OF HUMBLED PRIDE, of the kings of Draveer[d] and Goorjar,[e] whose glory was reduced, and the universal sea-girt throne*."

The passage above cited exhibits to us a magnificent picture of the Indian empire at that period; for, by the expression of "the universal sea-girt throne," we must infer, that in addition to the whole country lying between the Ganges and the Indus, on the former of which rivers stands Gowr, and on the latter of which stretches Guzzurat, he possessed the sovereignty of the whole peninsula, which is on all sides surrounded by the ocean. Whoever considers the beauty and riches of the provinces included in the circle of this vast empire, and compares them with the bleak, barren, and mountainous, region to the north of Candahar, the proper residence of the ancient Massagetæ, will scarcely wonder at the frequent attempts of the latter to obtain the possession of them, or the vigorous defence of them by the former, against the attacks of a sanguinary banditti. In fact, it was from the very same region, many centuries after, that those resistless conquerors descended, whose successive armies spread desolation through her fertile valleys, and on the ruin of Indian liberty and glory raised an empire, the proudest in wealth, and the most formidable in power, that the sun ever beheld. Till we arrive at that momentous period of our history, we must take leave of these northern invaders; since the account of their celebrated conflicts, with Cyrus and Darius, properly belongs to the page of Persian history.

[a] The kingdom of Gowr anciently included all the countries which now form the kingdom of Bengal on this side the Brahmpootra, except Mongueer.

[b] Orixa. [c] Huns. [d] A country to the south of the Carnatic. [e] Guzzurat.

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 136.

HISTORY OF THE AVATARS

RESUMED.

BOOK IV.

CONCLUDING THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR REMAINING INDIAN AVATARS, OR DESCENTS OF DEITY.

CHAPTER I.

The seventh Incarnation of Veeshnu in the Person of RAMACHANDRA, *the great Legislator and Reformer, supposed to be the Osiris of Egypt and Grecian Dionysius.*

THAT a very considerable portion of the ancient history of India is couched under that of the three Ramas, if all three are not, in fact, what seems to be extremely probable, only different representations of one sovereign chief, eminent inarts and brave in arms; and that the achievements of the first Cuthite colonies, in conquering and civilizing the southern regions of India, over-run, as the Lower Egypt in preceding pages is depicted to have been, with monsters and dæmons, are shadowed out in this particular Avatar, by Ravan and his army of associated giants; are intimations already submitted to the judgement of the reader. Whether this hypothesis, of their personal identity, be true or not, it is certain that, in the belief of the Brahmins, the same transmigrating spirit is sup-

THE SEVENTH AVATAR, or VEESHNU Incarnate in RAMCHANDRA

PLATE V.



Barlow sculp.

combating with the ten-headed RAVAN, *the gigantic Tyrant of* CEYLONE.

To the Right Reverend Charles, Lord Bishop of Bath & Wells, the above Plate is gratefully and most respectfully inscribed by

T. M.

posed to have successively passed into and animated the bodies of the two first of those warriors; for, in their system, intended directly to inculcate, on their disciples, the fanciful doctrine of the Metempsychosis, the souls of Jamadagmi and Renecu, the parents of Parasu, are represented to have passed into the bodies of Dassaratha and Causelya, the parents of Ramchandra. Dassaratha, however, was not only the nominal father of this mighty Avatar, he was also, by another wife, the immediate progenitor of the great Bharat, the acknowledged sovereign of all Hindostan, in periods not wholly emerged from fable; and from whom we have observed the whole country is generally, in Sanscreet records, denominated BHARATA. Bharat was the father of Judishter, whose exploits, with those of his brothers, are the subject of the Mahabbarat, whence the first ray of genuine Indian history emanes, amidst the ten-fold obscurity of its intricate mythology. But this subject will be discussed more at large hereafter: our present business is with the hero of the seventh Avatar; who, as just observed, was the son of DASSARATHA, monarch of Owdh, in Bahar, and of CAUSELYA, a princess of royal descent; a name which, it has already been observed, is a derivative of CUSHALA, and therefore marks her for the mother of this renowned Cuthite. The father's exploits seem to fall little short of the son's in lustre; for, his name signifies *one whose car had borne him to ten regions*, or to the eight points of the world, the zenith, and the nadir; and, according to the Brahmanda Pooraun, that father was descended from Surya, or Heli, which is equally a name of the Sun, in Greek and in Sanscreet; a circumstance which proves that they could go no farther back in his genealogy, since these genealogies always end in planetary progenitors.

Thus renowned, according to the Puranas, was the father of our hero, Ramchandra, who was born in the Treta-Yug, and had the great Hindoo priest and prophet Vasishta, in his earliest youth, appointed for his guru, or tutor. Under that venerable sage, he

soon became profoundly versed in all arts and sciences; but still more eminent for his rigid austerities and incessant devotion, leaving the palace of his father for the deserts, and spurning the ease and delights of a court, for long and wearisome pilgrimages to the most holy and distant pagodas of Hindostan, In consequence, the events of no preceding Avatar engage a larger portion of the walls of those pagodas, than those of the present. The priests were impressed with the remembrance of his peculiar protection of their order, and his feats are blazoned by them with more than common pomp. The cause of the appearance of the Deity, in every fresh Avatar, should ever be borne in mind by the reader, which is the humiliation of pride and the subversion of gigantic vice in Dityas; or, in other words, tyrants in iniquity resembling dæmons, who have been originally elevated to thrones by means of dissembled piety and bodily austerities, always intense, and often in the highest degree sanguinary. This constantly recurring circumstance, added to their certain downfal, after they had relaxed in their spiritual vigour, and had grown insolent, arbitrary, and cruel, were, doubtless, intended as so many direct proofs of a presiding Providence, to whom the loftiest potentates are equally accountable for their actions as the humblest of their vassals; and that our future good or adverse fortune, in a great measure, depends upon our just or improper use of the gifts of that Providence. The tyrant of the seventh Avatar was Ravan, who, according to the Ayeen Akbery, "having ten heads and as many hands, spent ten thousand (lunar) years, on the mountain of Kylass, in worshipping God; and devoted ten of his heads, one after the other, in hopes of obtaining, for his final reward, the monarchy of the three regions." He obtained his desire; but, intoxicated, as was usual with this order of Dityas, when their ambition was gratified with the influx of power, so greatly abused it, as to render his removal necessary to the welfare, not less of Devatas than of human beings; and, on this

occasion, Ramchandra was appointed the agent of the divine vengeance.

Every circumstance combines to prove that the first great empire in Hindostan was founded on or near its greatest river, in that vast fertile valley, through the centre of which it runs; an empire stretching northward to the feet of the mountains that bound it on that quarter, and westward to the Panjab. This empire, probably first established by the father of Rama, was enlarged, by his son, in its eastern limits, and extended southward, over the peninsula, to the great island over which Ravan is said to have reigned. Indeed, the immense scale on which it was erected may be judged of by the magnitude of its capital, which, say the Brahmin books, extended over a line of ten yojans, or forty miles; the present city of Lucnow being only a lodge for one of its gates, called *Lachsmanadwara*, or the gate of Lachsman, a brother of Rama*. It probably continued to be so till the time of Alexander's irruption; for, these were exactly the limits of the empire of the Prasii and Gangaridæ; and it is remarkable, that, within the same level tract, are discovered the Hastinapoor, or *Place of Elephants*, of the old Brahmin romances; the Pallibothra of the Greek historians; the Canouge of the Mohammedans; and the Patna, thought to be on the site of Pallibothra, of more modern invaders; all, in their turn, flourishing capitals in that region of India.

Over this great empire, destiny appointed Ramchandra the future potent sovereign; and, for the proper government of the kingdom, he was trained in youth by a long series of voluntary severities, in which he first learned to govern himself, and subjugate his own passions to the control of reason. Having punctually performed all the ordinances of the Vedas, and gone through the whole circle of the sciences with Vasishta, his renowned guru, at the usual

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 259.

early age he was espoused to the famous Sita, the daughter of a neighbouring rajah, whom he obtained in a trial of skill with other young princes, his rivals, by his superior dexterity in the use of the bow. Ram, however, wasted not his youth in the enervating pleasures of love. Being at once a great prophet and a powerful prince, he set off from his father's capital, with his beloved and beautiful wife, accompanied by his brother Lachsman, and crossing the Ganges, commenced his travels through Hindostan; travels, like those of Osiris, intended at once to reform and subdue. The steepest mountains and the most dreary deserts are passed with equal facility; and every where, in his progress, he relieves the oppressed, liberates the captive, routs the Dityas, and succours the Devatas. Sometimes we find him in his hermit's cell, engaged in intense devotion, surrounded with disciples on whom he inculcates the Metempsychosis, that peculiar doctrine which his Avatar seems to have been invented on purpose to impress with energy on the mind of the Indians; at other times, we find him advancing, in terror, at the head of an army, created by his command, and obedient to his nod. The air swarms with Devatas, ever ready to assist him; and the most miraculous prodigies are incessantly performed throughout the varied drama. It is Rama civilizing and conquering the world; collecting into cities the savages of the mountains, and restraining, by laws and discipline, the predatory banditti of the desert. Such we have seen, in a former page, is the decided idea of Sir William Jones, in respect to this wonderful personage and his martial exploits; and, by this rule of argument, we must form our judgment of his celebrated contest with the giant RAVAN, king of Lanca, or Ceylone, into which alone it is necessary to enter at any length.

In infant states, not wholly emerged from barbarism, one of the principal sources of mutual contention, among the aspiring chieftains, has ever been females of superior beauty, or other command-

ing attractions; nor must we wonder, if the rapture of Helen, by Paris, caused the ten years' war and destruction of Troy, that the seizure of the more beautiful Sita, by Ravan, should convulse the continent of India. The conflict, between Rama and Ravan, forms the leading feature in the character of this Avatar, which displays to us, on the one hand, valour, when firmly connected with virtue, as invincible by any human power; and, on the other, conjugal affection, equally impregnable to the allurements of temptation and the menaces of despotism, as rising in brighter splendour and purity from the refining fire of adversity. It appears, from the Brahmin books, which describe this Avatar, that Rama and Ravan had been rivals in the trial of skill by which the former obtained his wife. The success of the former, who was then but a youth, stung the jealous Ravan to the soul, and he burned for an opportunity to revenge the insult. An outrage offered by Lachsman, the brother of Ram, to the sister of Ravan, inflamed in a high degree his thirst of vengeance. But the tyrant too well knew, and too much dreaded, the vigorous arm of the incarnate god, to think of attacking him by open violence: he meditated, by fraud, the accomplishment of that vengeance; and determined to wound him in the tenderest part, by robbing him of Sita, his beloved wife. To effect his purpose, by the transmigrating power which his former penitentiary life had obtained him, he assumed the body of a beautiful stag, and remained continually browzing about the hut, erected near the Ganges, in which Rama, with his wife, performed the austerities of Indian anchorites. His sportive gambols, and the beauty of his shining skin, particularly attracted the notice of Sita, and she requested Ram to shoot the animal, and present her with its skin for an ornamental vest. Rama, by his omniscience, being no stranger to the turbulent spirit that animated the stag, at first opposed her desire, and warned her of the probable danger that would attend the act; but Sita persisting in her request, he consented, on condition that both her-

self and his brother Lachsman should, during his absence on that exploit, confine themselves within the limits of three circles, which he immediately drew, with chalk, around the hut. To those conditions she readily assented; and Ram, taking with him the unerring bow, after a chase of many cose, shot the devoted animal to the heart. The liberated spirit of Ravan immediately entered the body of a mendicant *Yogee*, stationed near the hut of Ram, who, with loud and doleful lamentations, bewailed the lot of Ram, about to perish under the superior might of his assailing enemy! Alarmed and terrified at the sound, Sita immediately besought Lachsman to fly to the relief of his brother; but he, suspecting treachery, and confiding in the power inherent in an incarnate deity, who had already triumphed over numerous and powerful armies sent against him by the allies and relatives of Ravan, refused to pass the prescribed limits of their temporary prison. A repetition, however, of the dreadful tidings, added to the renewed entreaties, and still more eloquent tears, of his sister, at length prevailed on Lachsman to quit the hut, and seek his brother. It was now that the artful mendicant, with a tale of well-feigned woe, approached the deluded princess, and, for the love of Veeshnu, besought that relief which no Yogee implores of the pious in Hindostan in vain. Although, regardful of her husband's injunction, Sita at first declined complying with his wants; yet, afterwards, as he grew more importunate, she thought the pious occasion might justify her passing over at least the first prohibited circle, in order to relieve his hunger with such homely fare as an anchorite's cell afforded. She did so; but, on her extending her arm, to present him with the vegetable boon, the royal impostor caught hold of her hand, and, gently drawing her over the two other lines, dissolved the charm that formed her security, and bore her triumphantly away, through the regions of the air, to his palace at Lanca. Fearing, however, to incense his queen, if he brought her within the walls, he erected for her a pavi-

lion, under one of the largest trees of the garden of the palace, where she was watched, day and night, by a guard of gigantic females, and had daily the mortification of receiving the visits of her ravisher, though neither threats nor persuasion could bend her intractable mind to consent to the gratification of the criminal passion with which he burned.

In the mean time, Lachsman had not advanced far in his search after Rama, before he met him returning, loaded with the skin of the slain deer, intended as a present for his beloved Sita. Their agony, to find her gone from the hut, was inexpressible, and infinitely increased by their ignorance whither she was fled. They set out, therefore, to ransack earth and Hades for the fugitive beauty; and, in their travels through a subterraneous cavern, are informed by a penitent Yogee, at his devotions, that he had recently beheld a Ditya flying through the air with a female, in a southern direction, which Rama immediately knew must be his enemy Ravan, and the object of his inquiry. In the same direction they immediately shape their course; and, as they traverse the mountains of the peninsula, meet with Hanuman, king of the Apes, (that is, a race of savages inhabiting the Gauts, whose forests abound in that animal,) of whom they make further inquiries, and by him are shewn a ring, which fell from the ear of some unfortunate female hurried through the air by a malicious dæmon. Rama instantly recognized the ring for Sita's; and now, knowing they must have gone to Ceylone, engage Hanuman, with a vast army of his subject apes, to assist him in the recovery of his wife. Of this army, Hanuman was appointed generalissimo, and many of his courtiers subordinate commanders. They march on till they come to Madura, on the sea-shore, and here a natural phænomenon, which presents itself to the view of the astonished spectator, gave birth to the romantic story of their raising, at the point of Ramancoil, a bridge of rocks from the continent to that island. But, during the delay which this stupendous un-

dertaking occasioned, Ram, being exceedingly anxious to know how Sita was treated by Ravan, and whether she retained her connubial fidelity inviolable, prevailed upon Hanuman to use the power, conferred on him by Veeshnu, of transporting himself through the air to the palace of Ravan, and resolving his anxious doubts on this interesting subject. Hanuman accordingly commences his aërial expedition; but, arriving in the region above Ceylone, finds his progress opposed by ten gigantic dæmons, whom Ravan had appointed guardians of the entrance into the island from that quarter. The prominent feature of this Avatar, the *Metempsychosis,* here again forces itself upon the recollection of the reader; for, to avoid their fury, Hanuman migrates into the body of a fly, and, descending on the shore in that form, enters the island; but he had now a land-enemy to encounter, in the person of an emormous Ditya, placed sentinel on the coast. The fly might easily be crushed, but the *ape* endowed with that peculiar portion of immortal vigour supposed in the Hindoo romances to be attached to Hanuman, (for, in their mythology, he is the son of one of their chief deities,) might be a match for the terrific Ditya. Resuming, therefore, his natural form, he engaged the dæmon with such courage and energy, that, not less astonished at his bravery, than apprehensive of his own defeat, his gigantic adversary desired a parley, and inquired his errand on that island. Hanuman replied, that he was come thither for no other purpose than to explore Sita, the wife of Ram, his sovereign and master. The Ditya, without hesitation, informed him, that he would find her in the garden of the palace of Ravan, his potent lord, under a sysem-tree: upon which they parted in tolerable good humour. Pursuing his journey, under various disguises, Hanuman at length reached the palace, and taking his station, in the form of a cat, on the battlements, he there observed the captive princess under the described tree. He immediately descended from the eminence on which he sat, and

hastened towards the pavilion, which he reached unobserved, at the instant Ravan himself entered, and thus became an ear-witness of the ardent protestations which he poured forth to the disdainful princess. Every flattering tribute that could gratify ambition or avarice, his power, his kingdom, his revenues, were offered in profusion, in case she would consent to share his nuptial bed. Unwrought upon by all his artful representations, she sternly answered, that she was Ram's alone; that to Ram, her heart, while it continued to beat, would remain inviolably faithful; and, in consonance with the received notions, in Hindostan, of the mighty power attached to wedded purity, she added, that, if he persisted to torment her with his loathed addresses, *she would consume him with fire.* On the tyrant's departure, Hanuman, mounting in the air, dropped into the lap of Sita the ring he had received from Ram, which she eagerly seized, and instantly knew to be her own. After a moment's reflection, she burst into a flood of tears, conjecturing that it could only have fallen from Ram, who, combating with some of the malignant genii of the air, had been defeated and slain. The faithful Hanuman immediately became visible, and throwing himself at her feet, transported her with the tidings of her husband being in perfect health and security, and of his having despatched himself for the express purpose of searching out her place of confinement, and of consoling her in her exile from all she held dear. Accustomed to the insidious designs of her ravisher, Sita, for a time, doubted the truth of all he asserted; but Hanuman again and again protesting his sincerity, and that he received that ring from Ram himself, to be conveyed to her as a pledge of his unaltered affection, provided she preserved her connubial vow unviolated, her sorrowing tears were converted into those of heart-felt rapture; and she charged him to hasten to her lord with renewed protestations of her duty and eternal regard, as well as with her ardent entreaties that he would exert his utmost to rescue her from the daily insults and

outrages of her tyrant. She then took one of the bracelets from her arm, and gave it to Hanuman for Ram, in proof of his having been successful in discovering her, and as a pledge of her unaltered affection. Hanuman promised faithfully to fulfil her commands, and respectfully took leave of the princess; but was so exasperated against Ravan, that as he passed through the beautiful gardens, he tore up the stately trees, scattered about the delicious fruits, and turned the giant's paradise into a desolate wilderness. The gardeners, observing the dreadful havoc made by this mischievous ape, went with loud complaints to Ravan, who, enraged at the treatment, sent armies of giants to attack him, all of whom Hanuman successively defeated, being enabled, by the imparted energy of Ram, to rend up the largest trees by the roots, which he made use of as his weapons of offence; tearing to pieces the arrows, converted into serpents, that were darted against him, and annihilating the combined efforts of sorcerers and magicians. The page of history would be degraded by entering into a minute detail of such puerilities; we, therefore, return with him to the continent, where the innumerable battalions of apes, or mountaineers, have already constructed a bridge of rocks one hundred leagues in length, and where Ram impatiently waited the arrival of his herald. The tidings brought by Hanuman at once consoled and animated the son of Dassaratha; and he rapidly passed the miraculous bridge, at the head of no less formidable a body than 360,000 apes, commanded by eighteen kings, each having under him 20,000.

Here it should be remarked, in respect to this vast army, that, in the belief of the superstitious Hindoos, these apes, who were doubtless *men* collected together under the banners of a great conqueror, from all parts of India, but particularly the higher regions of the peninsula, hardy, resolute, and accustomed to range the forest like the fabulous satyrs, till reclaimed by Rama from their savage state, are supposed to have been so many Devatas inhabiting human

bodies, united under the command of their second greatest AVATAR, to accomplish the utter destruction of an overgrown tyrant who oppressed them; a monster of injustice, cruelty, and lewdness. It seems to have been the origin of the famous Egyptian legend, that, at a particular æra, when all kinds of impiety and crimes abounded, the terrified gods were compelled to take refuge under the form of terrestrial animals. In relation to the bridge recorded to have been built by this army of satyrs, part of it, according to the Hindoo belief, exists at this day, being that series of rocks to which the Mohammedans, or the Portugueze, (alluding, perhaps, to the famous Pica d'Adam, or print of Adam's foot, on the highest mountain of Ceylone,) have given the name of Adam's Bridge; but this we have seen, from Sir William Jones, is a vulgar error, since it should be styled Rama's Bridge. The Missionary Bouchet, in the "Lettres Edifiantes," describes this bridge as composed, not of arches, but of prodigious stones, rising about three feet above the water, many eighteen feet in diameter, and others still more, with spaces of from three to ten feet wide between every stone. In the same book we are informed, that these remaining masses of rock, whether (originally) artificially or naturally deposited here, have been absolutely used, in modern times, as a bridge, by the rajah of Marava, who, when pursued by the king of Madura, actually passed over it to Ceylone with all his army, treasures, and elephants, upon great beams thrown across their surface*.

To resume our narrative: Ram, having passed this mighty bridge, marched on with all expedition to the capital of his determined enemy, the whole island of Ceylone being struck with terror at the immensity of the invading army, the brightness of their armour, and the loud clangor of their war-like instruments, all but the hardened tyrant himself, who, from the turrets of his palace, sur-

* Lettres Edifiantes, tom. xv. p. 34.

veyed with composure the vast cavalcade advancing to his destruction. Ram, though yet at a great distance, espying the tyrant in that elevated situation, took aim at him with his never-failing arrow, and at once shot off all the ten crowns from his ten heads. His wife, who had frequently remonstrated with him on the subject of Sita, being at this juncture with him, seized the opportunity to renew her representations, and urged him to remember, that he who was able thus dexterously, with one arrow, to shoot off the ten crowns from his ten heads, could also with equal facility, in the same manner, separate the ten heads from his mangled trunk. Ravan turned a deaf ear to all her entreaties, and was rather confirmed than shaken in the obstinate resolution he had taken, not to restore Sita to her injured husband. That husband now advanced in all the avenging fury of an irritated prince and of an insulted god. Amidst the denunciations of vengeance, like a true deity, Ram exalted the voice of mercy; and one of the chief generals in Hanuman's army was despatched to inform Ravan, that if he would, even at this late period, consent to deliver up his captive, the horrors of desolation, by fire and the sword, might be prevented, and the lives of thousands of his peaceful subjects be saved. The ambassador, however, was received at Ravan's court with accumulated insult, and the dreadful preparations for battle began on both sides. Previous to its commencement, the brother of Ravan and some of his most experienced warriors, conjecturing what must be the infallible event, and lamenting the fatal obstinacy of their sovereign, came over to the camp of Ram, and, making their submission, after proper proofs of their sincerity, were received into favour and honoured with his confidence. Indeed the legend makes these renegados to be of great importance to their new sovereign, by developing the projects of Ravan, and counteracting his malignant designs. A select body of ten thousand veteran Dityas, on whom Ravan placed a firm reliance, began the assault; but, by the might of Ram and

Lachsman, were quickly routed and slain. Other bodies of giants successively followed, of great number and not less courageous, but were defeated by the desperate valour of Hanuman and his apes. Above one hundred thousand of Ravan's army soon lay dead on the field. It became now necessary to exert those powers of magic which are never wanting, on grand emergencies, in an ancient Indian campaign; but the detail of which I shall generally decline, as not at all likely to entertain the rational reader, or instruct the modern warrior. On the present occasion, the ingenuity of the supernatural machinery made use of, entitles it to some notice.

Ravan's eldest son, by name Inderset, owing to intense austerities, was in high favour with Brahma, who had imparted to him energies more than human, when engaging an enemy. The demigod now led on to the combat the remainder of Ravan's exhausted forces, and, by the most animating addresses, incited them to rush on the foe, avenge their slaughtered comrades, retrieve the sullied honour of their king, and, by one desperate and united attack, retrieve the fortune of the day. While these men were fighting with a valour bordering on desperation, Inderset himself mounted into the air, and darted upon the apes arrows, which, the instant they reached the earth, were converted into serpents. These, enfolding the bodies of the astonished apes, and confining their arms and legs, left them, thus entangled, an easy prey to the swords and battle-axes of the gigantic soldiers of Ravan. And, now, victory seemed on the point of deserting even the divine Ram; who, utterly confounded at the disaster, applied to Veeshnu for his aid against the abused power of Brahma. The reader has been informed, in a preceding page, that the food of Garoori, the eagle on which Veeshnu rides through the vault of heaven, consisted of serpents; and that favoured bird was immediately despatched, by his master, to the assistance of Ram. Pouncing down upon his devoted prey, the majestic bird of the skies stalked over the field of battle, and soon

cleared it of the new species of foe that had taken possession of it; and now the apes, disentangled from their serpentine chains, renewed the contest with redoubled fury, while Lachsman, inspired with a portion of Ram's divinity, ascended the ætherial regions on the back of Hanumah, and waged a long and dubious conflict with Inderset, in a portion of the sky immediately above the palace of Ravan. In the end, the former of those mighty champions proved completely victorious, and the head of Inderset, cloven from his body by the sword of his antagonist, fell down to earth on the very spot whence the obdurate king had anxiously beheld the bloody conflict. As the gory scalp rolled at the feet of the obdurate father, the distracted Mandora, in a paroxysm of rage, upbraided the unfeeling tyrant with all his unheard-of crimes, unbounded lust, unprecedented barbarity, and shameless injustice, denouncing to him his own instant destruction, unless he immediately sued for peace and released from the power of enchantment the incarcerated Sita. In vain she stormed; in vain she intreated; the adamant of his heart was not to be softened, and he now resolved to try the last, the only resource which his obstinacy and madness had left him.—Of his slaughtered family, there yet remained to him a brother, elder than that which had fled to Ram. He is represented as a Ditya of enormous strength, but so devoted to sloth, that he was buried in sleep the greatest part of the year, only waking occasionally to swallow down an immense quantity of provisions for the support of existence: under which character is, doubtless, meant to be portrayed some neighbouring prince of Ceylone, an indolent and luxurious glutton. But from any sleep, save that of death itself, the thundering exclamations of his brother giant could not fail to awake him; for, suddenly entering his palace, he bellowed out his complaints against an innumerable army of merciless apes, headed by one Ram, that were on all sides ravaging his dominions. He informed him, that already two of his sons, seven of his generals, and

nearly 200,000 of his best soldiers, had perished in the conflict, and that he himself, (Ravan,) with the remainder of his family, must inevitably meet the same fate, if not immediately succoured by his powerful arm; an arm that was accustomed singly to crush embattled myriads. This Indian Morpheus, (or rather *Silenus;* for, he is said, in the Indian legend, to have been transported about, when awake, by a certain car drawn by four *asses*, another remarkable circumstance of similitude with the Greek fables,) this drowsy giant, I say, thus aroused from his deep repose, in return roared out, that his brother had engaged himself in a most unjust war; that no assistance which he might bring could protect him from the certain vengeance of that Ram, who was no less than Veeshnu in human shape; and that, in a recent dream, he had beheld the utter destruction of himself and his army. Ravan, appalled at the horrid denunciation, was at first so confounded he knew not what to answer; but, soon resuming his natural confidence, and conceiving that his formidable brother was a match for even Veeshnu himself, in a firm tone replied, that if his destiny were fixed, it would be in vain for him to fly from it; that, it did not become a great monarch, like himself, tamely to resign his kingdom to an usurper: and he once more conjured him at least to attempt his emancipation from the horde of barbarians that inundated his dominions. The Ditya replied, that, though the effort was hopeless, he would still make that effort, and that his life was at the command of his sovereign and brother. And, now, this terrific combatant moving onwards, like a mountain, towards the field of battle, struck with dismay the bravest of the enemy; all but the intrepid Ram and Hanuman; who immediately dispatched some thousands of the stoutest apes, accustomed to climb mountains and steep declivities, to tear down the rocky eminences that surrounded them, and hurl them upon him as he passed. These, however, made no impression on the Ditya, who warded them off with his shield, and pierced the pon-

derous masses through with his arrows. Arrived in the field, a most dreadful slaughter of the apes, from that moment, commenced; and, had not Ram descended from his chariot to succour them, the whole race must have been exterminated. With all his might, drawing the immortal bow, he aimed an arrow that instantly shot off his unweildy head, which made the earth tremble as it fell, while his agitated trunk continued to make sad havoc among the affrighted apes. As fast, however, as they fell, the victims who thus perished were, by the power of Ram, restored to life; and the convulsive motion shortly after ceasing, they were thus effectually delivered from their most dreaded enemy.

The accomplishment of his brother's awful prediction now appeared to Ravan to be rapidly approaching. Despair gloomed upon his face, and remorse wrung his heart; yet not that despair which unnerves for enterprize the palsied hand, nor that remorse which produces repentance and reformation. No; in this last and dire extremity, his soul seemed to acquire new ardour and energy; he rushed on to the field, at the head of his few remaining troops, with such irresistible fury, that Ram himself was constrained to admire his undaunted fortitude: but, it becoming necessary to check his desolating progress, and let him feel the entire superiority of his enemy, he levelled his bow, and shot off nine of his heads, calling out to him to desist from provoking farther the power that could in an instant overwhelm him, and promising, if he would, even now, lay down his arms, and give up Sita, he would heal his wounds and restore to him his forfeited empire. The tyrant, though covered with blood, and frantic with pain, declared, that if the hour of his destiny was arrived, he must submit to its stern decree, but that he would rather part with his *tenth head*, also, than relinquish Sita. At this answer, Ram, greatly incensed, shot off his remaining head, and thus exterminated the determined foe that had caused him such accumulated labour and affliction. The perturbed spirit,

however, of this dreadful monster, seemed for some time reluctant to abandon the headless trunk; and the numerous hands, each grasping some deathful weapon, still continued furiously to brandish them, and mow down whole battalions of inferior warriors. An exertion of magical power, by his conqueror, became absolutely necessary to disarm their undistinguishing fury, and stop the progress of destruction.

The instant that the death of the tyrant Ravan and the rout of his army were known in his capital, his injured and insulted queen hastened to prostrate herself at the feet of Rama, deprecating his vengeance, and denying all acquiescence in the guilty conduct of her husband towards the unfortunate Sita. Ram received her with great kindness and commiseration: and, after commanding her to undergo the accustomed ordeal of fire, by walking over plates of iron heated red-hot, gave her in marriage to the tyrant's brother, his confederate and friend, according to an ancient law of Hindostan, which, not less than the Levitical code, allowed the nuptial union with the widow of a deceased brother. But now his whole soul burned with impatient ardour to liberate and embrace his beloved, his faithful, Sita. He was immediately transported, in his *rose-litter*, to the fatal tree under which she had so long languished in the adamantine bonds of enchantment, now burst asunder by the death of Ravan; and their mutual rapture at meeting, after so protracted a period of separation, can be conceived but not expressed. Ram, however, resolutely refused all cohabitation with his charming wife, till she had gone through the most dreadful ordeals of unsullied virtue; till she had trampled, unhurt, the glowing embers; dared the bite of the envenomed serpent; and, in the pride and fortitude of conscious innocence, exposed herself to the rage of goaded elephants and tigers, expiring in the pangs of famine.

Having firmly established the brother of Ravan on the throne of

Ceylone, Ram prepared to return to his hereditary dominions; but, as an immense slaughter had been made of Hanuman's army, and as, without their restoration to life, he must henceforth have reigned a king without subjects, Ram, exerting the omnipotent power of an incarnate deity, *re-animated* their lifeless bodies: another glaring proof that the Metempsychosis was the doctrine principally intended to be inculcated by this distinguished Avatar. The resuscitated army then urged back their course, to the continent, over the bridge erected by their labour; and the legend relates, that, at the command of Ram, the principal stones that formed it were carried back by the apes, to the mountains whence they had been hewn; but, unfortunately for its veracity, those stones, of the vast dimensions stated above, still remain, and incontestibly prove, what I have all along asserted to be the basis of the Indian legends, the history of some stupendous convulsion of nature, or other physical phænomenon, blended with the detail of some great historical fact, such as is likely to have taken place in the infancy of the world, when half mankind, inflamed by religious feuds, or animated by the thirst of power, was embattled against the other half.

Ram, having refreshed his native forces in the kingdom of Hanuman, and restored to that depopulated realm its former inhabitants, marched on to his capital in Bahar in all the majesty of a god and all the splendor of a conqueror. He also prevailed on Hanuman, after making Suckeridge, the prince of apes and his oldest general, his vice-gerent during his absence, with a select band of those mountaineers, to accompany him thither; and it was, probably, in their progress to Owdh, that the rites adopted afterwards in the Greek *Dionysia*, or feasts of Bacchus, (in other words the Indian Bhagavat,) were first celebrated. Harnessed tigers (an animal, it should be observed, abundant in India, but not known in Greece) dragged the chariot of the triumphant Ram; the sprightly notes of the Indian pipe and tabor were heard responsive to the wild air of

Indian Bacchæ, attendants on the recovered Sita; and the louder cymbals poured their melody in unison with the antic dance of the jocund satyrs. Ram, at some distance from his capital, was met by his enraptured parents and relatives, who brought him, in profusion, all the rich and splendid offerings usually made in India at the shrine of royalty crowned with conquest; showers of rose and other sweet-scented waters were sprinkled over himself and his faithful band, who had shared his toils and his glory; the social betel was lavishly distributed, and the choicest perfumes of Asia were burned to their honour, refreshing the languid spirit, and filling the air with ambrosial fragrance. Ram flourished, according to the Hindoo legends, eleven thousand lunar years on the throne of Owdh; at the end of which, he retired with his wife to the Vaicontha, or paradise of Veeshnu, leaving two sons behind him, CHUS and LAVAN, who inherited his virtues and jointly shared his regal honours*. With Ramachandra expired the TRETA-YUG, or second age of the world; in which one-third part of mankind became reprobate; a period containing three Avatars, consonant to their gradual decrease in every successive age, and consisting of 2,400,000 years: though I must again remind the reader, that these exaggerated calculations are nothing more than astronomical cycles, founded on the basis of the precession of equinoxes of fifty-four seconds, more or less times repeated, according to the number of Avatars in each Yug.

* Roger, p. 166; Sonnerat, vol. i. p. 26; Baldæus apud Churchill, vol. iii. p. 865; and Sir William Jones, in Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 123.

CHAPTER II.

Intended as introductory to the subsequent History of CREESHNA, *incarnate in the eighth* AVATAR, *in which the cavils of Volney and other French Sceptics are considered and confuted.*

THE Bhagavat, from which the subsequent life of Creeshna is taken, is one of the most distinguished, for sublimity and beauty, of the eighteen Puranas, written by the holy sage VYASA, whose celebrated pen composed the great poem of the Mahabbarat. It lays claim, therefore, to the highest antiquity that any Indian composition can boast; and, though we may not allow it to be four thousand years old, which is the date assigned to the Mahabbarat in Mr. Wilkins's Bhagvat-Geeta*, yet there is ample evidence to prove its existence not many centuries later than that æra. The Geeta itself is an Episode of the Mahabbarat, and it is the divine Creeshna that inculcates the precepts it contains on the mind of his friend and disciple Arjoon. But, that the reader may be able to form a better judgment concerning both the wonderful being whose history is about to be detailed, and the authenticity and age of the book whence it has been extracted, I shall here present him, by way of introduction, with an extract or two from Sir William Jones's celebrated Dissertation on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India. There is exhibited, in the life of this Indian deity, such a strange mixture of the *sublime* and the *puerile*, as for a long time excited in my mind a great degree of doubt whether I should

* Geeta, p. 5.

publish it in this collective form, or give an abridgement of it, inserting only the most remarkable facts. An impious parallel, however, having been recently attempted to be drawn, by a celebrated French writer, between the life and miracles of Creeshna and those of Christ, between which there are certainly to be traced very striking lines of resemblance; and well there may, if, as Sir William Jones was of opinion, and as I sincerely believe, there are, in the Bhagavat, interpolations from the *spurious gospels*, which might, in the earliest æras of Christianity, have found their way to India; I conceived myself bound by duty to give it unabridged, to avoid the suspicion of purposed mutilation to serve a favourite system.

"Their great divinity Creeshna," says Sir William Jones, "according to the Indians, passed a life of a most extraordinary and incomprehensible nature. He was the son of DEVACI, by VASUDEVA; but his birth was concealed through fear of the tyrant CANSA, to whom it had been predicted that a child, born at that time in that family, would destroy him. He was fostered, therefore, in Mathura, by an honest herdsman, surnamed NANDA, or *happy*, and his amiable wife YASODA, who, like another Pales, was constantly occupied in her pastures and her dairy. In their family were a multitude of young Gopas, or cow-herds, and beautiful Gopias, or milk-maids, who were his play-fellows during his infancy; and, in his early youth, he selected nine damsels as his favourites, with whom he passed his gay hours in dancing, sporting, and playing on his flute. Both he and the three RAMAS are described as youths of perfect beauty; but the princesses of Hindostan, as well as the damsels of NANDA's farm, were passionately in love with CREESHNA, who continues to this hour the darling god of the Indian women. The sect of the Hindoos, who adore him with enthusiastic, and almost exclusive, devotion, have broached a doctrine, which they maintain with eagerness, and which seems

general in these provinces, that he was distinct from all the Avatars, who had only an *ansa*, or portion of his divinity; while CREESHNA was the person of VEESHNU himself in a human form. Hence they considered the third Rama, his elder brother, as the eighth Avatar, invested with an emanation of his divine radiance; and, in the principal Sanscreet dictionary, compiled *about two thousand years ago*, CREESHNA, VASUDEVA, GOVINDA, and other names of the shepherd-god, are intermixed with epithets of NARAYAN, or the Divine Spirit. Creeshna was not less heroic than lovely; and, when a boy, slew the terrible serpent Calija, with a number of giants and monsters: at a more advanced age, he put to death his cruel enemy CANSA; and, having taken under his protection the king JUDHISHTHIR and the other Pandoos, who had been grievously oppressed by the Curus and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war, described in the great Epic Poem, entitled the Mahabbarat; at the prosperous conclusion of which he returned to his heavenly seat in Vaicontha, having left the instructions, comprised in the Geeta, with his disconsolate friend ARJUN, whose grandson became sovereign of India."

In another place he observes as follows. "That the *name* of CRISHNA, and the general outline of his story, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour, and probably to the *time of Homer*, we know very certainly; yet the celebrated poem, entitled Bhagavat, which contains a prolix account of his life, is filled with narratives of a most extraordinary kind, but strangely variegated and intermixed with poetical decorations. The incarnate deity of the Sanscreet romance was cradled, as it informs us, among herdsmen; but it adds, that he was educated among them, and passed his youth in playing with a party of milk-maids. A tyrant, at the time of his birth, *ordered all new born males to be slain;* yet this wonderful babe was preserved by biting the breast, instead of sucking the poisoned nipple, of a nurse commissioned to kill him. He

performed amazing, but ridiculous, miracles in his infancy; and, at the age of seven years, held up a mountain on the tip of his little finger; he saved multitudes, partly by his arms and partly by his miraculous powers; he raised the dead, by descending for that purpose to the lowest regions; he was the meekest and best tempered of beings, washed the feet of the Brahmins, and preached very nobly, indeed, and sublimely, but always in their favour; he was pure and chaste in reality, but exhibited an appearance of excessive libertinism, and had wives or mistresses too numerous to be counted; lastly, he was benevolent and tender, yet fomented and conducted a terrible war. This motley story must induce a belief that the spurious Gospels, which abounded in the first age of Christianity, had been brought to India, and the wildest parts of them repeated to the Hindoos, who ingrafted them on the old fable of Cesava, the Apollo of Greece."

In my opinion the story of Creeshna contains a great deal of the ancient mystic theology of Hindostan, interwoven with no small portion of its early history; for, it introduces us to Judishter, a very ancient sovereign of the country, and enters into considerable detail concerning the actions of the third Rama, his elder brother, who, in fact, is often considered as the eighth Indian Avatar, but whom I throughout consider as only a different representation of the great hero and conqueror of that name. The whole appears to me to be written in the very same spirit with the mystic poetry of Hafez, the devout sensualist of Persia, in which the mind, wrought up to a high degree of enthusiasm, seeks, in the most delightful terrestrial objects, images by which to represent the Deity himself, and to express the raptures of religion. For instance, Hafez frequently uses the romantic phrase, *the wine of devotion*, and speaks of the happiness arising from the love of his Maker with the same transport, and nearly in the same language, as he talks of the *fruition of his mistress*. However this mode of expression may

shock the feelings of European divines, except, indeed, the sect of the *illuminati*, it is very prevalent among Asiatic theologists, whose devotion seems to want the assistance of external objects to animate and invigorate it.

The most distinguished of all the sovereigns of India in ancient times was Bharat, the great ancestor of Judishter, more generally considered and recorded as the first universal sovereign of India of mortal birth. He flourished in the early period of the Duaapar-Yug, and, in testimony of his extensive power, the whole country was, in very ancient periods, denominated, from this prince, BHARATA-VERSH. Bharata-Versh, at that remote period, included all the countries that, in the present division of the globe, are called India, extending from the borders of Persia to the extremity of China, and from the Snowy Mountains to the southern promontory; an empire vast and magnificent, indeed, if the description be accurate, and well deserving of the mighty contest for its dominion described in the Mahabbarat. The denomination of a country from a great monarch proves at least that such a monarch existed, and Sir William Jones has, in part, accounted for the extravagant assertion of his having reigned twenty-seven thousand years, by the inability of the Brahmins to fill up a considerable interval of time that elapsed between his reign and that of his son and successor Vitatha.

To return to the more particular consideration of those parts of the life of Creeshna which are above alluded to by Sir William Jones, which have been paralleled with some of the leading events in the life of Christ, and are, in fact, considered by him as interpolations from the spurious Gospels; I mean more particularly his miraculous birth at midnight; the chorus of Devatas that saluted with hymns the divine infant as soon as born; his being cradled among shepherds, to whom were first made known those stupendous feats that stamped his character with divinity; his being

carried away by night and concealed in a region remote from the scene of his birth, from fear of the tyrant Cansa, whose destroyer it was predicted he would prove, and who, therefore, ordered all the male children born at that period to be slain; his battle, in his infancy, with the dire envenomed serpent Calija, and crushing his head with his foot; his miracles in succeeding life; his raising the dead; his descending to Hades, and his return to Vaicontha, the proper paradise of Veeshnu; all these circumstances of similarity are certainly very surprising, and, upon any other hypothesis than that offered by Sir William Jones, at first sight, seem very difficult to be solved. But should that solution, from the allowed antiquity of the name of *Crishna*, and the general outline of his story, confessedly anterior to the birth of Christ, and probably as old as Homer, as well as the apparent reluctance of the haughty self-conceited Brahmin to borrow any part of his creed, or rituals, or legends, from foreigners visiting India, not be admitted by some of my readers, as satisfactory, I have to request their attention to the following particulars, which they will peruse with all the solemn consideration due to a question of such high moment.

And,—1st, with respect to the name of *Crishna*, (for, so it must be written to bear the asserted analogy to the name of Christ,) Mr. Volney, after two or three pages of unparalleled impiety, in which he resolves the whole life, death, and resurrection, of the Messiah into an ingenious allegory, allusive to the growth, decline, and renovation, of the solar heat during its annual revolution; and after asserting that by the Virgin, his mother, is meant the celestial sign Virgo, in the bosom of which, at the summer solstice, the sun anciently appeared to the Persian Magi to rise, and was thus depicted in their astrological pictures as well as in the Mithratic caverns: after thus impiously attempting to mythologize away the grand fundamental doctrines of the Christian code, our infidel author adds, that the SUN was sometimes called *Chris*, or Con-

servator, that is, the Saviour; and hence, he observes, the Hindoo god *Chris-en*, or *Christna*, and the Christian *Chris-tos*, the son of Mary*. Now, whatever ingenuity there may be displayed in the former part of this curious investigation, into which I cannot now enter, I can confidently affirm there is not a syllable of truth in the orthographical derivation; for, Crishna, not Chris-en, nor Christna†, (as, to serve a worthless cause, subversive of civil society, he artfully perverts the word,) has not the least approach in signification to the Greek word Christos, *anointed*, in allusion to the kingly office of the Hebrew Messiah; since this appellative simply signifies, as we shall presently demonstrate, *black* or *dark blue*, and was conferred on the Indian god solely on account of his *black complexion*. It has, therefore, no more connection with the name of our blessed Saviour, supposed, by this writer, to be derived from it, than the humble Mary of Bethlehem has with the Isis of Egypt, the original Virgo of the zodiac; or Joseph, as there asserted, has with the obsolete constellation of Præsepe Jovis, or stable of Jove, as, in his rage for derivation, he ridiculously asserts.—2. Let it, in the next place, be considered that Creeshna, so far from being the son of a virgin, is declared to have had a father and mother *in the flesh*, and to have been the *eighth* child of Devaci and Vasudeva. How inconceivably different this from the sanctity of the immaculate conception of Christ!—3. That it has been, from the earliest periods, the savage custom of the despots of Asia, for the sake of extirpating one dreaded object, to massacre all the males born in a particular district, and the history of Moses himself exhibits a glaring proof how anciently and how relentlessly it was practised.—4. In his contest with the great serpent Calija, circumstances occur which, since the story is, in great part, *mythological*, irresistibly impel me to believe, that,

* Volney's Ruins, p. 290.

† Ibid.

in that, as in many other portions of this surprising legend, there is a reference intended to some traditional accounts descended down to the Indian from the patriarchs, and current in Asia, of the *fall of man*, and the consequent well-known denunciation against the serpentine tempter.—5. In regard to the numerous miracles wrought by Creeshna, it should be remembered, that miracles are never wanting to the decoration of an Indian romance; they are, in fact, the life and soul of the vast machine; nor is it at all a subject of wonder that the dead should be raised to life in a history expressly intended, like all other sacred fables of Indian fabrication, for the propagation and support of the whimsical doctrine of the Metempsychosis.—The above is the most satisfactory reply in my power to give to such determined sceptics as Mr. Volney, who resolve the whole life of Creeshna into a history of the operations of THE SUN, on purpose to degrade to mere mythology the character and miracles of Christ, to which, in some parts, an obscure resemblance may be traced.

It is not, however, to writers of his cast that this work is principally addressed. To the devout Christian, who, in humble confidence, exalts his retrospective glance through the darkness of past ages, and there traces the vestiges of Providence, I will venture to unfold what appears to me to be the genuine truth in this obscure business, and the explanation which I propose will turn most forcibly against the sceptic the tide of his own arguments. The life of Creeshna, in fact, is not merely *mythological*, no more than it can be considered as purely *historical*. It is an evident mixture of both. It appears to me that the Hindoos, idolizing some eminent character of antiquity, distinguished, in the early annals of their nation, by heroic fortitude and exalted piety, have applied to that character those ancient traditional accounts of an INCARNATE GOD, or, as they not improperly term it, *an Avatar*, which had been delivered down to them from their ancestors, the virtuous

Noachidæ, to *descend*, amidst the darkness and ignorance of succeeding ages, at once to reform and instruct mankind. We have the more solid reason to affirm this of the Avatar of Creeshna, because it is allowed to be the most illustrious of them all; since we have learned, that in the *seven* preceding Avatars, the deity brought only an *ansa*, or portion of his divinity; but, in the *eighth*, he descended in all the plentitude of the godhead, and was Veeshnu himself in a human form. From what other sources than this could originally have sprung the fanciful doctrine of *Avatars*, or heavenly descents, a god incarnate, a deliverer of the oppressed earth from the yoke of tyrants, and the rage of dæmons, armed for the destruction of mankind? The path upon which I am about to enter, contrary to my original intention, which was to pass rapidly over a subject of great apparent hazard and delicacy, is somewhat devious and perplexed; but I will not shrink from the more extended investigation of this important question. An affected delicacy *here* would be a criminal desertion of the station which I have taken, as *the historian of the antiquities of India and the Higher Asia, most interesting to mankind*. The field, however, is so wide, that I must solicit the patient attention of the public to a second introductory chapter to the Life of Creeshna; and, if it should appear to some of my readers a deviation from the direct historical tract, I have, in the subject itself, to plead at least as ample, many of them will think a far better, apology than could be urged by the most elegant historian* of the present century, for a digression artfully intended to undermine the national theology, and subvert the hope of immortality, founded on the benevolent Christian code, its firmest basis.

* Mr. Gibbon, in the two protracted chapters of his Roman History, which contain his inquiry into the causes of the progress and establishment of Christianity.

CHAPTER III.

Immemorial Traditions diffused over all the East, and derived from a Patriarchal Source, concerning the Fall of Man, the original Promise, and a future Mediator, had taught the whole Gentile World to expect the Appearance of a sacred and illustrious Personage about the Period of Christ's Advent.—The AVATARS *themselves to be considered as the Result of the Predictions of the Noachidæ, concerning the Incarnation, in due Time, of the Saviour of the World.—*JOB'S *early and remarkable Prediction concerning the promised* REDEEMER.—*The prophecy of* BALAAM, *that a* STAR *should rise out of Jacob, considered and compared with the Conduct of the* MAGI *who visited the infant* JESUS *in Bethlehem.—The Probability stated that* ZOROASTER, *who, if not an apostate Jew himself, was certainly well acquainted with the Hebrew Doctrine and Scriptures, when he visited the* BRACHMANES *of India, had imparted to those Sages the Notions entertained, at that Day, by the Jews concerning the* EXPECTED MESSIAH.—*The Responses of the heathen Oracles, as the Times of the Messiah approached, and the Sentiments of heathen writers, founded upon the Sibylline Oracles, detailed.—The Mission of St. Thomas and his Disciples to Parthia and the Eastern Regions of Asia, combined with the Report of the Magi on their Return, confirmed, beyond all Doubt, the Truth of the primitive Traditions, and induced the Brahmins to interpolate the ancient History of Creeshna, the Indian Preserver, either from Conviction, or with a View to exalt the Character of that Deity, with Extracts both from the* REAL *and the* SPURIOUS GOSPELS.

FROM the earliest post-diluvian age to that in which the Messiah appeared, together with the traditions which so expressly recorded *the fall of the human race* from a state of original rectitude and felicity, there appears, from an infinite variety of hieroglyphic monuments and of written documents, (some of which have perished in the lapse of time, but many of which remain incontestable proofs of the fact here asserted,) there appears, I say, to have prevailed, from generation to generation, throughout all the regions of the Higher Asia, an uniform belief, that in the course of revolving ages, there should arise a *sacred personage*, a *mighty deliverer of mankind* from the thraldom of sin and of death. In fact, the memory of the grand original promise, that the *seed of the woman* should eventually crush *the serpent*, was carefully preserved in the breasts of the Asiatics; it entered deeply into their symbolic superstitions, and was engraved aloft amidst their mythologic sculptures. Every where was to be seen a god contending with his adversary, an envenomed serpent: Osiris, Hercules, Creeshna, and Apollo, are beheld alternately to aim at the slimy monster the victorious javelin, or wield the destroying club. The astronomers of Assyria exalted to the sphere the mysterious emblem, on the northern division of which conspicuously may be seen the *foot* of the celestial Hercules about to trample on the *head* of the dragon, while the Brahmins of India consecrated the image in the noblest of their Avatars.

In the ages immediately succeeding, the Chaldæan Job, induced by the same conviction, and doubtless animated by the spirit of prophecy, exultingly exclaimed, *I know that my* REDEEMER *liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though, after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see* GOD. Job xix. 25. The country of Job, it should be remembered, and that of the diviner Balaam, whose prediction

follows next in order, in the pagan world, to that of Job, are both on the confines of the region in which these expectations of a future Messiah were first indulged. That of the latter was Pethor, upon the Euphrates, a city which both sacred and profane geographers place in Upper Mesopotamia. He himself, in his prophecy, declares he came from *the mountains of the east*, those very mountains whence the Magi, pupils of the same school, issued, many centuries after, to adore the star which Balaam predicted, then *risen in Jacob*. The age in which Balaam flourished runs back very high into antiquity, nearly as high as that of Job himself; for, his benediction of Israel against the bias of his own depraved heart, took place, according to Usher, in the year 1451 before Christ*, which is nearly 300 years before the Trojan war, and above 500 before Homer flourished; about which period, the Bhagavat was composed; that is, the original parts of the poem, previous to its interpolation by the artful policy of the Brahmins, to make their favourite deity the prototype of the Christian Messiah. The Mesopotamian diviner, and the author of the Pooraun, derived from the same source, viz. the traditions preserved in the virtuous line of Shem, the general notion of an incarnate deity to spring from the bosom of time; but the peculiar and appropriate prediction of the Jewish Messiah, by the former, was the effect of *inspiration* by the power whose providence can make the basest instrument subservient to the noblest purposes. Those striking particulars in the history of Creeshna, that seem to bear so direct a similitude to some parts of the life of Christ, were, in all probability, added, partly from the accounts circulated over the East by the Magi, who, following the traditions of their country, and guided by the appearance of the *risen star*, visited the Saviour of the world in Bethlehem, and partly from the SPURIOUS GOSPELS, which, in

* Usher's Chronology, p. 34.

the first ages of Christianity, were widely diffused over the East by numerous channels which we shall hereafter point out.

There is no occasion for my entering into discussions relative to all the difficulties that occur in the history and character of Balaam himself: the general answer to the principal objection has been given above: that he was selected by Providence an unworthy instrument to accomplish a grand design; and, as this is one of the earliest, so it is by no means one of the least animated, predictions of the great Personage prefigured by it. Summoned by Balak, the sovereign of Moab, and amply bribed by that monarch, according to an ancient superstitious practice of the Gentiles, solemnly to devote to slaughter the Israelitish army, assembled in superior multitudes to seize upon his dominions, after many vain efforts to curse the chosen people of God, the avaricious priest of Baal at length declared that no enchantment could prevail against Jacob, nor any divination against Israel. After three times extolling and blessing them, he prophetically breaks into the following rapturous exclamation: *Hear what Balaam, the diviner, saith; I shall see him* (the Messiah,) *but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh; there shall come a* STAR *out of Jacob, and a* SCEPTRE *shall rise out of Israel.* The light of this STAR, now faintly glimmering, and now transcendently luminous, beamed through all the succeeding ages that rolled on from Moses to Malachi, the last of the prophets. During the four hundred years, however, which intervened between that prophet and its complete emersion, God left not himself without a witness in the pagan world. The ancient traditions began to be more widely diffused through Asia, and the heathen oracles themselves, as well those that were written, as those that were vocally uttered, gave their decided testimony to the *oracles of truth.*

The most distinguished of the oracles, written in the ancient world, were those attributed to Zoroaster, whose history, whose place of residence, and whose doctrines, so similar, in many re-

spects, to those of the Brahmins, demand particular notice in this investigation; since it was probably, through the medium of the celebrated Archimagus of that name, who is known to have visited India 520 years before Christ, that the Brahmins first arrived at any knowledge of the true character, or any particulars of the history, of the REAL PERSONAGE to whom the ancient traditions, immemorially flourishing among them, pointed; and, by a comparison of which with those traditions, they were afterwards induced to interpolate their sacred books with passages extracted not only from the *genuine*, but the *spurious*, Gospels. The general route of the Greeks to India was by the ports of the peninsula, and, whatsoever influence their conversation and manners might have had on the Brahmins of the south, (a race at all times the most corrupted both in principles and practice from the influx of foreigners,) it is not probable that many of them reached the distant colleges of the Indian literati in those mountainous heights of Hindostan Proper, where, in ancient periods, they principally flourished, secure from the effect of those irruptions which in every age the envied riches of India brought upon its more southern provinces from successive conquerors. That, from those elevated regions, and in particular from Naugracut, on the mountains of Lahore, the whole stream of Indian theology and science originally flowed, is not only probable from the circumstance of their being a part of India nearest to the great Tauric range that runs through Asia, where the patriarchal schools were first instituted, and whence science was propagated by various channels through the world, but is proved, from the fact related by Ammianus Marcellinus, that, from the neighbouring mountains of Bactria, in whose capital of Balk, Zoroaster, or Zaratusht, had his school and principal fire-temple, that venerable sage, together with his patron Hystaspes, paid a visit to the Indian Magi, in the secluded regions of UPPER INDIA, whom he found buried in the deep solitude of their native forests, exercising their

lofty genius in profound astronomical speculations and celebrating the awful sanctities of their religion. The solemn and mysterious rites and doctrines, which he there saw and learned, he afterwards taught his disciples, the Persian Magi, and they were delivered traditionally down to their posterity for a succession of ages*. This visit of Zaratusht to the Brachmanes evinces the intimate connection and correspondence between these two celebrated sects of Eastern philosophers, which seems to have continued from that period, about five centuries before Christ, down to the seventh century after the Christian æra: when, on the irruption of the Arabian robbers, under the plea of establishing a purer religion in Persia, the miserable remains of the Magian sect, under the name of PARSEES, fled for security into the domains of their Indian brethren, and settled, where they now remain, in the western districts *Superioris Indiæ*: in fact, to that very country in which, above a thousand years before, the great Archimagus had both imparted and imbibed a considerable portion of his mystic devotion. It is remarkable that, previously to his entering on the public function, which, under the patronage of Darius Hystaspes, he assumed, the residence of Zoroaster had been in Media; (for, according to Porphyry, it was in the Median mountains adjoining to Persia that Zoroaster first consecrated a cavern to Mithra, or the SOLAR FIRE†; and to *Azerbijian*, which means the *region of fire*, and is only another name for Media itself, the Hindoos, and all the ancient fire-worshippers of Asia, have been immemorially accustomed to make pilgrimages. It was on ELBURS, a mountain of that province, that the most an-

* Hystaspes, qui quum superioris Indiæ secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam venerat solitudinem, cujus tranquillis silentiis præcelsa Bracmanorum ingenia potiuntur; eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus et siderum, purosque sacrorum ritus, quantum colligere potuit, eruditus, ex his quæ didicit, aliqua sensibus magorum infudit: quæ illi cum disciplinis præsentiendi futura, per suam quisque progeniem posteris ætatibus tradunt. Ammiani Marcellini, lib. 13.

† Porphyrius de Antro Nympharum, p. 254.

cient PYRÆIA were erected in honour of the bright and most perfect symbol of deity, and they were night and day guarded by priests stationed near them for the pious purpose. It was not, however, on the heights of Elburs that the first fire-temples blazed: the perverted philosophy of Chaldæa, deserting its proper object, the *source itself of light and heat*, had long before induced its infatuated votaries to erect stupendous CHAMANIMS to that element, as the primary all-powerful agent in nature, in Ur, of Chaldæa; an act of insane impiety, which, attended as it was with the concomitant Sabian superstition of fabricating and adoring images made under supposed planetary influences, drove the virtuous Abraham into voluntary exile.

Without degrading this great reformer of the Persian religion, as Hyde has done, to the situation of a menial slave in the family of Ezekiel or Daniel, we may yet allow it to be extremely probable, and we are justified by chronology in supposing, that, in his youth, he might have familiarly conversed at Babylon, during the long residence of the Jewish captives at that city, with one or the other of those holy men; at least his writings and his precepts, so far as they are known to us, demonstrate an intimate acquaintance with the principal rites of the Jewish religion, and a diligent perusal of the ancient scriptures of the Hebrew nation. The same active curiosity, the same ardent thirst of knowledge, that led him to the woody recesses of the Brahmins, would naturally, had he no other motives, impel him rigidly to scrutinize into a system of religion so far exalted, in sublimity and purity, above the groveling systems of idolatrous worship that polluted the altars of surrounding nations. To this important acquisition of knowledge from its divine source, he doubtless added all the stores of traditional wisdom of the Noachidæ, that had descended down to him through the corrupted channel of the pagan philosophers of Asia. Thus distinguished by the sovereigns, and thus familiar with the literati, of Asia, equally

known to the prophets of the true God, and the ministers of that false religion which had erected itself on its ruins, was it possible for the friend of Darius and the disciple of Daniel to be ignorant of that sublime passage, in the 7th chapter of Isaiah, which predicts in such express terms the miraculous birth of the Hebrew Messiah, BEHOLD, A VIRGIN SHALL CONCEIVE, AND BEAR A SON! or that in the 9th, which in so decisive a manner, distinctly designates his exalted character, and denominates him, WONDERFUL, COUNSELLOR, THE MIGHTY GOD, THE EVERLASTING FATHER, THE PRINCE OF PEACE! Could he possibly be ignorant of all that long chain of astonishing prophecies successively, and at that time recently, uttered by the same prophet, by Jeremiah, and other inspired men, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity of the Jews by the Babylonian sovereign? or of the subversion of the Babylonian empire itself by the Medes and Persians? those prophecies in which CYRUS himself was twice mentioned by name 150 years before he was born. Could he be ignorant of the solemn decree of Cyrus for the return and reinstatement of the Jews in their ancient domains, religious rites, and civil privileges? or, on the retardation of that event by their determined enemies, of the confirmation of the decree by Cyrus, by his patron Hystaspes, in the fourth year of his reign? These important national events, befalling a people of so peculiar a theological cast, could not have passed unnoticed under the very eye of one who united in his character at once the *courtier* and the *theologue*; and it is probable that he even befriended them in their second application for renewed permission to rebuild their temple. The conspicuous rank and station of Zeratusht in the Persian empire and on the great theatre of Asia, added to the celebrity of his learning, gave him an unbounded influence and authority over all the subordinate classes and colleges of the ancient Σοφοι, dispersed over the Eastern world, among whom the Brahmins must be enumerated; and an author

of high repute, from Oriental sources, informs us, that he absolutely predicted to his disciples, that, at no very distant period, *a* SACRED PERSONAGE *should issue from the womb of an immaculate* VIRGIN, *and that his coming would be preceded by a brilliant* STAR, *whose light would guide them to the place of his nativity**.

Whatever truth there may be in this relation, which I would not insert from an author of less respectability than Abulfaragius, it is certain that the Jews themselves, either grounding their belief on the prophecy uttered by Balaam against the secret malignant purpose of his heart, and therefore justly supposed to be put into his mouth by the Omnipotent Power that watched over Israel, or induced by patriarchal traditions, firmly expected the prophetical allusion, not perhaps intended to be understood wholly in a metaphorical, nor absolutely in a literal, sense, to a brilliant appearance in the heavens, to be literally fulfilled, and that a star should, in fact, precede the coming of the Messiah. It is in vain that the Hebrew commentators fly to every subterfuge to avoid the imputation of indulging this notion, since their conduct, on a great national occasion, incontrovertibly establishes the fact. The impetuous zeal with which, in the 130th year of the Christian æra, they rushed to the standard of the military impostor, whom their perverted imaginations had exalted into the true Messiah, demonstrates that they thus interpreted the prediction. At that time there flourished in Judæa a most celebrated Rabbi of the name of Akiba, a bitter enemy of the Christians, who, guided by ambition, or acting from the conviction of his mind, sanctioned the daring fraud. I allude to the famous impostor "named BAR-COCHEBAS, whose rapid success and sanguinary devastations through all Palestine and Syria filled Rome itself with astonishment. In this barbarian, so well calculated by his cruelty to be the Messiah, accord-

* Vide Abulfaragii Historia Dynastiarum, p. 54, edit. Oxon. 1673.

ing to the perverted conceptions of the Jews, Akiba declared that prophecy of Balaam, *a star shall rise out of Jacob*, was accomplished. Hence the impostor took his title of BAR-COCHEBAS, or *son of the star;* and Akiba not only publicly anointed him KING OF THE JEWS, and placed an imperial diadem upon his head, but followed him to the field at the head of four-and-twenty thousand of his disciples, and acted in the capacity of master of his horse. To crush this dangerous insurrection, which happened in the reign of the Emperor Adrian, Julius Severus, prefect of Britain, one of the greatest commanders of the age, was recalled and dispatched from Rome, who retook Jerusalem, burnt that metropolis to the ground, and sowed the ruins with salt." The prediction, therefore, of Zeratusht was in unison with the Jewish faith and traditions; and, through his means, the hope and promise of a Messiah, whose character and office were but darkly conceived, were diffused widely over all the Eastern world; confirming the traditions immemorially cherished among the pagan nations, and obscurely recorded in the venerable dogmas and writings of the oldest heathen philosophers.

The STAR that was to *arise out of Jacob* and illumine Palestine, (and not only Palestine, but the whole earth,) at length made its appearance in the eastern horizon. The Persian Magi, addicted to the Sabian superstition, and not unmindful of the prediction of their great master Zeratusht, (a prediction which, as I enlarge my inquiry, I find more widely diffused than I at first supposed through Asia*,) from the heights of the mountainous regions where they re-

* It occurs at the very opening of a production which I shall presently have occasion to mention in great detail—the *Evangelium Infantiæ,* as I find it translated from the Arabic, through the medium of which language it probably reached India, by Henry Sike, "*Ecce Magi venerunt ex Oriente Hierosolymas,* QUEMADMODUM PRÆDIXERAT ZORADASCHT." Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, cura Fabricii, vol. i. p. 173, edit. Hamburg, 1703.—I think it important to mention this circumstance, in addition to what was cited in a former

sided, and watched the motions of the heavenly bodies, had long been anxiously solicitous for the manifestation of the brilliant prodigy. The wonderful condescension of Divine Providence, in announcing this stupendous event to the Gentile world, by a sign the most intelligible to their comprehension, and after a mode the most consonant to the habits and prejudices of a race involved in the depth of astronomical superstition, at once excites admiration and impresses gratitude on the reflecting mind. The physical phænomenon ordained to precede that appearance, *the morning-star to the Sun of Righteousness*, had already blazed forth, during the space of nearly two years, to the astonished disciples of Zoroaster, who, impatient to behold *the Desire of all Nations*, lost not a moment in obeying its summons and submitting themselves to its guidance. We shall not stop here, to examine the philosophical perplexities that appear to envelope this subject, of the star that appeared to the Magi: it has already been often and ably investigated, and the magnified difficulties in great part removed, by the efforts of learned and pious writers. But it should ever be remembered, that this was a *miraculous* display of omnipotent power, for the most glorious of purposes, and therefore cannot properly be brought before the tribunal of human reason: a display worthy of the immortal object to which it pointed, and one, the truth of which

page from Abulfaragius; because, the Arabian author probably inserted it as one of the traditional dogmas of Zeratusht, preserved in his own school; for, there were Arabian as well as Persian Magi. He certainly found nothing of it in the Apocryphal Gospel, upon the same subject, in Greek, and ascribed to St. Thomas; for, that precedes the Arabic one, in this volume, with the Latin version of Cotelerius. There are two very forcible reasons for supposing them both to have been fabricated in the earliest ages of Christianity; for, in the first place, the Greek version is mentioned in the works of Irenæus and Origen, both of whom lived in the second century; and, secondly, we find many passages of the latter inserted almost *verbatim* in the text of the Koran of Mohammed, who was born in the sixth century. In fact, the *Evangelium Infantiæ* seems to have been the principal, though corrupted, medium by which that impostor arrived at any knowledge of Christianity.

out to the Magi the particular habitation of the holy family, the hypothesis here adopted by no means excludes the more immediate exertion of divine power, in causing an inflamed meteor, or a radius of glory, to illuminate the spot; and this in all probability was the case. It is impossible for the human mind to conceive, and, though the most renowned masters in science have attempted the sketch, for the powers of human genius accurately to paint, the august and affecting scene which, in mockery of all the pageantry of human magnificence, now took place in the stable of the humble inn at Bethlehem;—the astonished parents, the prostrate Magi, the divine child, receiving, with a smile of ineffable benignity, the proffered treasures of the East: — Nature never witnessed such an awful scene but once; and liberated man, for whose emancipation these amazing scenes were transacted, ought to cherish the remembrance with pious rapture while thought and existence remain.

The scriptural account of the sidereal herald that announced to the Oriental world the advent of the Saviour of the World, and of the subsequent journey and adoration of the Magi, wants not the collateral testimony of an eminent philosopher of those times; and, had the science of astronomy been then more generally cultivated, many others would undoubtedly have still remained.

Chalcidius, a writer who flourished not long after Christ, in a commentary upon the Timæus of Plato, discoursing upon portentous appearances of this kind in the heavens, in different ages, particularly speaks of this wonderful star, which, he observes, presaged neitheir diseases nor mortality*, but the descent of a God among men:—*Stellæ, quam a Chaldæis observatam fuisse testantur, qui Deum nuper natum muneribus venerati sunt*†:—a star, which is

* *Moresque*, in the original, should, doubtless, be *mortesque*, and so I have ventured to insert it.

† Chalcidius in Timæum Platonis, p. 19.

attested to have been observed by Chaldæan astronomers, who immediately hastened to adore and present with gifts the new-born Deity.

It would be an unmanly line of conduct, and argue a disingenuousness totally unworthy the exalted subject we are engaged in discussing, to conceal from the reader that the two first chapters of St. Matthew, relating these solemn facts, and tracing back the genealogy of Christ, have themselves, by certain writers not in other respects sceptical, been attacked as *spurious*. The circumstance has arisen principally from some magnified difficulties in the genealogical history in the first chapter, and from the astonishing nature of the facts recorded in the second,—the journey and adoration of the Magi, and the subsequent massacre of the infants by Herod. These writers found the argument for their spuriousness on a very absurd and chimerical basis. They *assume*, (and it is mere *assumption*, without any kind of proof,) that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in the Hebrew or Syriac language only, and that the author of the Greek version added the initial chapters in question. It is an opinion, however, sanctioned by very high authority in antiquity, that the apostle was the author of both Gospels, and was induced to write them in two different dialects for the more extensive propagation of the sacred truths contained in them: the first, written, a very short time after our Lord's ascension, for the benefit of the Jewish converts; the latter, somewhat later, for the instruction of the Gentile proselytes. Those holy and considerate persons who admitted the Greek Gospel, which has descended down to us among the canonical books, had, in all probability, seen the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew also, and could easily have detected the forgery had it really been one; and no doubt can be entertained but that all the sacred books thus admitted underwent a most rigid scrutiny, and that their authenticity was first incontrovertibly established.

But, farther, I am of opinion, that an indubitable testimony, in favour of their authenticity, may be drawn from a quarter inveterately hostile to Christianity. Celsus, the most learned and able of its assailants, wrote his invective so early as the middle of the second century; and would Celsus, with all the sources of genuine information in his power, have alluded to these solemn facts, as related in this Evangelist, which he evidently does, if cited correctly by Origen*, with a view to subvert the doctrine of Christ's divinity founded upon it, unless it formed at that time a part, and that an *undisputed* part, of the said Gospel?—It was extremely important to the purpose of the laboured argument of this celebrated Epicurean philosopher, that, in his attack upon Christianity, he should accurately have distinguished between the *genuine* and the *imputed* doctrines of its first professors. Any supposition to the contrary would be at once a degradation of his understanding and a subversion of his hypothesis. But, in truth, there scarcely existed a possibility of error on subjects so public and so notorious. That publicity is in the strongest manner intimated throughout the whole narration of St. Matthew. No part of this awful drama is represented as having been acted in the privacy of solitude, or in the shade of obscurity; every particular of the wonderful story is related with a dignified simplicity that bids defiance to the severest scrutiny.—On the arrival of the Magi at Jerusalem, they speak of the star, and of the new-born king of the Jews, as things of public notoriety, as things known and seen by all:—*Where is he that is born King of the Jews; for, we have seen his star?* And the immediate convoking of the Sanhedrim by Herod, as well as his subsequent order to destroy the children, must have greatly added to that notoriety. Again, Celsus, or, at least, the Jew in Celsus, reproaches the Christians with the flight of their infant God into

* Vide Origen contra Celsum, lib. i. p. 45, edit. 1658.

Egypt, as if a God were not able to protect himself from the cruel perfidy of man * ; which argument, however absurd and futile, yet, as referring to what is related in the second chapter of Matthew, affords another proof that it then stood where it now does. There are also other allusions in Celsus to this chapter, which demonstrate that it must then have been in existence; and, since that learned writer was well informed in all matters relating to Christianity, was not regarded in the light of an interpolation, but as the genuine writing of the Evangelist, and as containing a fundamental part of the Christian code. But the most important and satisfactory result of the whole inquiry is, that those events are only scoffed at and ridiculed by Celsus and his sceptical associates; they are not denied, nor are they, any more than the miracles of Christ, attempted to be disproved. The silence, therefore, of one of the most learned and determined adversaries of Christianity, on a point so momentous as the preceding, may justly be considered as most convincing additional testimony to the truth of the awful facts under consideration.

Although I should be sorry to degrade these pages by introducing into them any of the legends of the Romish church, yet so much has been said by the Portuguese writers concerning the ancient Christians of St. Thomas, *the Apostle of the Indies*, as he is sometimes denominated by them, that it would be inexcusable, on a subject like the present, wholly to omit mentioning what they assert relative to those people and that apostle. From the traditions of the church, and the testimony of the fathers, sufficient evidence may be collected to convince us, that, on the distribution made by the apostles of the several regions of the Gentile world, in which they were respectively to exercise their ministry, the vast district of Parthia and the more eastern empires of Asia were allotted to St.

* Origen contra Celsum, lib. i. p. 51.

Thomas: and that apostle, who, by the condescension of his crucified Master, had such decided and public proof permitted him of that resurrection which is the basis of the Christian hope of immortality, was, doubtless, proportionably animated by it to tempt every danger of a fiery climate and barbarous nations, and propagate its doctrines to the farthest bounds of the habitable globe. The Medes, the Persians, the Carmanians, and the inhabitants of Hyrcania and of Bactria, whose capital was Balkh, the ancient residence of the Magi, of which provinces, at that time, the Parthian empire consisted, successively shared the benefit of his instructions. The Eastern traditions add, that, in this quarter of Asia, he met, [illegible] the vale of years, with those venerable Magi who [illegible] the Saviour of the world in Bethlehem; that he admitted them, by baptism, into the pale of the Christian church; [illegible] experienced from them essential services during his abode in [illegible] of Asia*. As there is no gross improbability in the [illegible] as the idea is withal highly gratifying to the mind of the Christian, it ought not to be hastily rejected, though recorded by the unknown author of the Imperfect Commentary upon St. Matthew, a work of considerable antiquity. From Parthia, our apostle [illegible] have visited India, already, by the doctrine of its *Avatars*, prepared to receive with benignity the herald of the *true* Messiah, though not to renounce its absurd superstitions in honour of Creeshna, the pretended Saviour. This ever has been, and probably ever will continue to be, the unfortunate case; for, since they allow that all religions come from God, and that all modes of adoring him, when springing from an upright heart, are acceptable to him; or, to use their own remarkable language on this point, since they affirm that the Supreme Being "is sometimes employed, with the attendant [illegible] mosque, in counting the sacred beads; and sometimes

* Opus Imperfectum in Matth. Homil. ii. written about A.D. 560.

in the temple *at the adoration of idols;* the intimate of the Mussulman, and the friend of the Hindoo; the companion of the Christian, and the confidant of the Jew*;" since they are firmly of opinion "that the Deity *has appeared* innumerable times, and by innumerable Avatars, in many parts, not only of this world, but of all worlds, for the salvation of his creatures; and that both Christians and Hindoos adore the *same God*, under *different forms*†;" since they indulge, I say, such latitudinarian ideas in theological concerns; it was equally impossible for St. Thomas, as it has been for any modern missionary since, to persuade the great body of the people of Hindostan to renounce the errors of idolatry, and become sincere converts to the truth of uncorrupted Christianity. A considerable number of Hindoos, however, (as may be gathered from all the accounts of this apostle's life given us by the ancients, and confirmed by the diligent inquiries of the moderns,) were absolutely converted to the Christian faith; and the Brahmins themselves, though determined not to give up their usurped authority over the minds of the people, and the vast emoluments, resulting from the idolatrous rites celebrated in the pagodas, yet, at the same time, comparing the accounts of the Magi, and the doctrines preached by our apostle, with their own Scriptures, discovered that strong resemblance, between some parts of the character and history of the Christian and Hindoo Deliverer, as seemed completely to verify the ancient traditions of their nation, and induced them to interpolate their sacred books with extracts from the Gospels, of which, at that early period, the spurious abounded more than the genuine throughout the East. It should not be omitted that the very Gospel of the Infancy was originally known in Asia

* See the Preliminary Discourse of the Brahmins who translated the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 4, 4to edit. 1776.

† Sir William Jones, in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 274.

under the title of the *Gospel of St. Thomas*, by which name it is often mentioned, and condemned by the fathers as a base forgery, unworthy of his name and character. The number of the spurious Gospels of which we have any knowledge, as they are enumerated by Fabricius, amounts to no less than THIRTY-NINE; of which, those that have descended down to our own time will be found in that writer's often-cited work, the Codex Apocryphus. It is happy for us that they *have* so descended, since we are by this means enabled to detect imposition, and vindicate the authority and dignity of the genuine productions of the Evangelists. There might also be another powerful motive with the Brahmins for making the asserted interpolations; for, though the zealous disciple of Christ, and his doctrines, so congenial with many of the sublimer dogmas of their own religious faith, might be welcomed on his first arrival, yet, the number of proselytes daily and prodigiously increasing, they might be alarmed lest the total downfall of their superstition, and the absolute loss of their enormous gains from the practice of it, should be the fatal consequence. We are justified in this conjecture by the accounts given in Maffæus's Indian History*, and in the ancient martyrologies of his death, which is said to have happened after the following manner:—This holy man, pursuing the successful career of his spiritual embassy, continued his progress probably by the route of the Indus, from the northern to the southern regions of India, where he gained still greater fame and more numerous disciples. At Cranganor, then said to have been the capital of a kingdom of the same name, but now a miserable town and fort on the Malabar coast, he instituted that order of Christians who boast his name; and, though, in succeeding ages, deeply infected with dangerous errors, principally of the Nestorian sect, have flourished, in a continued series, from the time of their great

* Maffæi Hist. Ind. lib. ii. p. 85.

founder, and boast still to retain the records of their institution, and an original grant of land to their patron St. Thomas, from the reigning king of India, sufficient for the erection of a church, engraved on tablets of brass. These tablets, for some centuries, were lost; but, during the vice-royalty of Don Alfonsa Sousa, one of the early governors of the Portuguese India, were dug up. They have, or, at the beginning of the present century, had, for their spiritual head, an archbishop, resident at Cochin, on this coast, who is under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Babylon. The apostle of the Indies, having established this Christian colony at Cranganor, and, if his biographers may be credited, having visited, and sown the seeds of the Gospel in, the great island of Taprobane, sailed eastward even to China itself, and laid the foundation in that empire of its triumph in future ages; a triumph, which would appear incredible, if not attested by such authentic writers as the Arabian Travellers in the ninth, and Marco Paulo in the thirteenth, century.* From China, our apostle returned to India, and settled at Meliapoor, upon the opposite shore of the peninsula, under the protection of a certain king, on the coast of Coromandel, named Sagamo, who had been converted by his miracles. The Brahmins, however, growing jealous of him, and dreading his superior influence over the mind of that prince, resolved to put him to death; and pursuing him out of the city to a tomb, at which he used occasionally to retire and perform his devotions, transfixed him with lances while fervently engaged in prayer. Such are the accounts, partly traditional and partly historical, that have been handed down to us from ancient writers concerning the preaching, travels, and death, of the *Apostle of the Indies;* accounts, to which every one will give that proportion of credit which he may think due to the reporters;

*** See a Dissertation, by M. Renaudot, on the Origin of the Christian Religion in China, added to his Ancient Accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan Travellers, in the Ninth Century, p. 76.**

who are, some of the fathers, the ancient martyrologists, and the Portuguese historians, Osorius, Maffæus, and the author of the Portuguese Asia.

There is no occasion, however, to rest the argument in favour of the conversion of a large portion of the Indian nation, in the earliest periods of Christianity, solely on the mission of St. Thomas. The apostles and their disciples were zealously and successfully propagating its sublime and pure doctrines in every quarter of Asia. The capitals of Persia, Arabia, and Syria, with which countries India at that time kept up a vigorous commerce, were crowded with its votaries; and the Indian merchants, as well as the YOGEES, who were then in the practice of undertaking long pilgrimages to the remotest parts of Asia, in order to explore the sacred fountains and flaming springs of Naphtha dispersed through Asia, and the objects of veneration to their ancestors, could not fail, in their conversations and intercourse with foreigners, of becoming acquainted with the principles of a religion which, in many respects, was so similar to their own, or of bringing back with them the various Gospels, genuine and apocryphal, diffused in such numbers through the Higher Asia. At that time, a constant correspondence, maintained, for above three hundred years from the time of Alexander, with the Greeks, who had settled, in multitudes, under the Seleucidæ, in Persia, must have prevented the Indians from being entire strangers to the Greek language, in which, for the most part, those Gospels were written: or, if they were wholly so, there remained the Syriac, and, in particular, the Persian, (the ancient Persian, spoken about that time, of which we have before been told, by the greatest linguist that ever lived, that *six or seven words in ten were pure Sanscreet,)* as the certain media of informing the Indians concerning the history of the birth, actions, and death, of our Saviour. There cannot be a more direct proof how generally and how early the religion of Christ was diffused throughout Persia, than that, upon its ruins,

arose, in the third century, the impious and widely-extended heresy of Manes, which was compounded out of the ancient Zoroastrian or Magian superstition, and certain perverted doctrines of Christianity; for, that impostor had the policy to propagate the notion of an immediate relation of the character of Christ to the mediatorial Mithras of the ancient Persians, declaring him to be the presiding genius over the visible world, and his throne to have been, from eternal ages, in the SUN; from which orb, his luminous shrine, he descended in person, to instruct and reform mankind, and to which, at the termination of his mission from the Good Principle, he returned; blasphemously giving out, at the same time, that he himself was the promised *Paraclete*. The Evangelium Infantiæ has been assigned to the fertile invention of this heresiarch; but, however vitiated his doctrines by its contents, that circumstance is impossible, since Manes did not appear on the theatre of Asia till the year 277, and Irenæus had already anathematized that production in the middle of the second century, with all the train of Gnostic errors which the Manichæans, in the next century, so zealously adopted.

Alexandria, too, it should be remembered, at that time the grand emporium of all the commerce carried on between the eastern and western world; Alexandria, partly reclaimed from paganism by the labours of *St. Mark*, recorded, by the church, to have suffered martyrdom there,—was, on account of its celebrated library and noble college, instituted by the munificence of the Ptolemys, crowded with learned men from every quarter of the civilized globe; and Egypt, or the exterior *Cusha-Dweepa*, being not beyond the limits forbidden by their supreme legislator to be passed, was then probably much more the resort of Hindoos than in later periods, when there existed no government sufficiently liberal to *tolerate*, and, at the same time, sufficiently powerful to *protect*, foreigners of different religious habits from those of the country. These, hearing of a miraculous Child, the Saviour of the World,

who, in his infancy, had run the same risk of destruction with their favourite divinity CREESHNA;—struck also with astonishment at the resemblance of his name, and at the miracles of the infant Jesus at *Matarea*, in the Thebais; a word so consonant to their *Mathura*, the scene of Creeshna's youthful exploits; miracles recorded in those numerous apocryphal Gospels, which we may collect from the beginning of St. Luke's genuine Gospel, "*For as much as* MANY *have taken in hand to set forth*," &c. had, even at that time, begun to be so multiplied over the East by the imprudent zeal of the first Christians; and, finally, comparing their doctrines and characters, as well as calmly reflecting on the firmness of the dying martyr, who, before their eyes, sealed, with his blood, the truth of the doctrines which he had taught the Alexandrians; these Indian merchants, I say, must have received, and retained when returned to their own country, the most lively impressions of the new religion; which, probably they might consider as an extension of their own system of faith. Various others, among the disciples of the apostles, ardent to propagate the faith of Jesus, by means of the Roman fleets, which then annually visited India by the route of Alexandria and the Arabian Gulph, might also be instrumental in planting that faith upon its shores; and that the Indians were not ignorant of what passed at Rome, and the western parts of their empire, is evident, from the two embassies despatched, the one shortly after the other, by Porus to Augustus, in the nineteenth year before Christ, in order to solicit his friendship and an alliance with the Roman empire.

Thus, from numerous and distant sources of intelligence, traditional and historical, as well as from a multiplicity of collateral evidence, almost amounting to demonstration, have we been able to establish the truth of our original position, that the Indians, with all the other nations of the Gentile world, had a notion of, and expected, a Mediator.

I shall now proceed to demonstrate the truth of the repeated assertions occurring above concerning the numerous imitations and interpolations from the Apocryphal Gospels, by exhibiting a variety of parallel facts and passages, in the Life of Creeshna, the spurious Gospels, and the Koran, so very striking in their general feature of resemblance, as incontestably to prove to every unprejudiced mind that the one is a copy of the other. It will also be evident, from the same circumstance, that the Brahmins could have been no strangers to the *genuine* Gospels, and *must* have pilfered from them. I say *must;* because we know that the humble and illiterate disciples of Jesus were utterly unacquainted with the sciences and history of India, scarcely at this day at all known; and that the Evangelists, ignorant even of the Greek and Roman classics, could never have seen the Sanscreet books, or copied the Bhagavat of the sublime Vyasa. That the English reader may have an opportunity of judging for himself, concerning this similitude, and of comparing the passages as they may hereafter occur, I shall, for the most part, cite the parallel accounts in Creeshna's romantic story, only altering, here and there, the orthography, from Baldæus; an author, who obtained his information from the Brahmins themselves, and those sacred books whose dialect he understood, and whom, from the opportunities afforded me of comparing the relations, I can pronounce to be, in general, correct and authentic. The author of the Bhagavat does not stoop to record every minute circumstance of his hero's life: but the far greater part of what is recorded in Baldæus will be found in the following pages; for, it is a saying of great notoriety among the Brahmins, and the saying itself proves their intimate acquaintance with our sacred volumes, that, "if," to use the words of Baldæus, "the whole sea was filled with ink, the earth made of paper, and all the inhabitants of the terrestrial globe were only employed in writing, they would not be sufficient to give an exact account of all the miracles wrought by Kisna (Creeshna)

during the space of 100 years, in the third period of the world called the Duapaar-Yug."*

Creeshna, in the *male* line, was of royal descent, being of the Yadava line, the oldest and noblest of India, and nephew, by his *mother's* side, to the reigning sovereign; but, though royally descended, he was actually born in a state the most abject and humiliating; and, though not in a stable, yet in a dungeon. The birth of Christ, the King of Israel, took place under circumstances of extreme indigence; and the place of his nativity, according to the united voice of the ancients and of Oriental travellers, was a cave, artificially hollowed out of a rock, that formed the stable of the caravansera, to which his supposed progenitors had repaired, in the lowly village of Bethlehem. When the period of Creeshna's birth arrived, the whole room was at once splendidly illuminated, and the countenance of his father and mother emitted rays of glory. Thus, according to the Arabic edition of the Evangelium Infantiæ: and to which I shall principally refer, because I am of opinion *that* was the medium by which the Brahmins obtained the knowledge of these pretended miraculous circumstances that took place at Bethlehem; according to that Gospel, as translated by Henry Sike, *Spelunca repleta erat luminibus, lucernarum et candelarum fulgorem excedentibus, et solari luce majoribus.*† Soon after Creeshna's mother was delivered of him, and while she was weeping over him and lamenting his unhappy destiny, the compassionate infant assumed the power of speech, and soothed and comforted his afflicted parent. The account of this matter is given in Baldæus, as cited below; for, the subsequent history of Creeshna is silent in respect to the consolation given to his mother, though it confers on him the gift of speech, as does the above edition of the Evangelium Infantiæ on Jesus, as soon as born. I must again declare my perfect acquiescence in the general accu-

* Baldæus apud Harris, vol. iii. p. 888. † Evangelium Infantiæ: Arabice et Latine.

racy of Baldæus; but the history of Creeshna is variously related, as may easily be conceived, in different quarters of the vast region of India. "The time of her gestation being expired on the day Aethen of the month Souwanne, this unfortunate princess, Creeshna's mother, being overwhelmed with grief, brought forth a son, about midnight, without the least pain, whose face was as bright as the full moon; but, as she had occasion to rejoice at the birth of so fine a child, his fate put her into incredible affliction. But Veeshnu, whose divine virtue was infused into this child, comforted his mother, telling her, that he would find means to escape the hands of his uncle, and deliver her out of her prison. Then, speaking to his father, Carry me, says he, to Gokul, on the other side of the river Jumna, to the Brahmin Nanda, whose wife having been lately brought to bed of a daughter, exchange *me* for *her*, and leave the rest to my disposal."* I shall add, from the same author, the remainder of this wonderful relation, which is more particular than he will find it in the subsequent history. It is, however, the *discourse* holden by the new-born infant with his father, to which, on account of what will follow, I wish more directly to point the reader's attention. "Yasodha answered, How is it possible to remove thee out of a chamber so closely guarded and kept, that not the least thing may pass in or out?—Kisna (this was the child's name) replied, The doors shall be opened to thee, and the guards so overcome with sleep that nothing shall stop thy free passage. He had no sooner spoken these words than the seven doors opened themselves, so that Yasodha took the child and carried him off without the least hindrance: but, coming to the river Jumna, directly opposite to Gokul, Kisna's father, perceiving the current to be very strong, it being in the midst of the rainy season, and not knowing which way to pass it, Kisna commanded the water to give way on

* Baldæus apud Harris, vol. iii. p. 869.

both sides to his father, who accordingly passed, dry-footed, across the river, being all the way guarded by a serpent that held her head over the child, to serve it instead of an umbrella. The Banians call this serpent Seshanaga. Coming to the Brahmin's house, the door opened of itself; and, finding the Brahmin and his wife asleep, he exchanged *his son* for *their daughter*, which he carried along with him to the castle. In short, the water afforded him once more a free passage; and, finding the doors of the castle open, and the guards asleep, he locked them after him, and delivered the girl to his wife."

In the Koran of Mohammed, where that impostor is speaking of the birth of Christ, whom he always mentions respectfully, as a sublime prophet, though he denies his divinity, he puts these words into the mouth of Zachariah, when predicting the future greatness of the Messiah :—" While he is yet in the cradle, and in swaddling-clothes, he shall have the use of speech."* As the impostor could find nothing of this kind in St. Matthew, he undoubtedly derived his information from the spurious Gospel above-mentioned, which, at that time, was extant in Greek and Arabic, and a copy of which, in both those languages, (very different productions,) now lies before me. Mr. Sale, the learned editor of the Koran, in fact, makes the following observation on this very passage. " The reported sayings of the infant Jesus seem all to be taken from some fabulous traditions of the eastern Christians, one of which is preserved to us in the spurious Gospel of the *Infancy of Christ*, where we read that Jesus *spake*, while yet in the cradle, and said to his mother, *Verily I am* JESUS, *the Son of God, the Word which thou hast brought forth, as the Angel Gabriel did declare unto thee ; and my Father hath sent me to save the world.*"† Some of these ridiculous legends even go so far as to make the infant Jesus speak in the womb,

* Sale's Koran, vol. ii. p. 63, 8vo edit. 1765.

† Evangelium Infantiæ, p. 5.

and upbraid Joseph with his suspicions of the chastity of his wife. How widely different is all this from the temperate and dignified narration of the true Gospel! that Gospel, which is almost totally silent in regard to the *infancy of Christ*, and only details those sublime exertions of his supernatural power which were necessary to demonstrate his divinity to mankind, and hold up to posterity the example of those benevolent virtues which it is the principal object of Christianity to inculcate!

In another note of Sale's on the same book, we are informed, from a similar source, that the prophet Zacharias, who is said, in the Koran, to have had the charge of Mary, during the infancy of her pregnancy with the immaculate Child, that the holy man, at that time officiating-priest at the altar, suffered nobody but himself to go into her chamber or supply her with food, and that he always locked *seven doors* upon her. Notwithstanding this precaution, he constantly found a plentiful table spread before her, of *summer-fruits in winter and winter-fruits in summer.** But it is not on account of the fruits, thus miraculously brought the virgin, that I cite this passage, but because we have already seen, what the subsequent history will confirm, that the chamber, in which the mother of Creeshna was confined, was only to be approached through *seven strong doors of iron*.

Much in the same romantic style with the legends before-cited is the following traditional fable of Christ, when in his childhood, which is related in the Evangelium Infantiæ, and is several times gravely referred to in the Koran, as an indubitable testimony of the prophetic character of Jesus; for, no higher an one does the arch-impostor allow the Christian Messiah. When Jesus was seven years old, being accidentally at play with several children about his own age, they took it into their heads to form various figures of birds

† Sale's Koran, vol. ii. in the notes, p. 61.

and beasts of clay, for their diversion; and while each confidently extolled above the others his own production, Jesus told them, that he would far surpass them all; for, he would make the quadrupeds fabricated by himself walk and leap, which accordingly, at his command, they did. He made, also, other figures of birds, into which he breathed, and they began to fly about, or came to him, as he ordered them, and received from his hand meat and drink for their sustenance. The astonished children, relating this fact to their parents, were forbidden to hold any more communion with Jesus, who was henceforth regarded as an impious sorcerer.* This is written exactly in the Hindoo spirit of fabling; and, of the same class, many surprising tales will occur in the subsequent history of the youthful Creeshna.

Still farther to demonstrate the Indian a studied imitation of the Christian narration, as Christ is preceded by John, his cousin and divine herald, who is born only a short time before him, so is Creeshna by Ram, his elder brother and associate in the arduous work of purifying the polluted earth of monsters and dæmons. He is called the *Fire of Bhagavat;* and, from the same cause, is hurried away, as soon as born, to the same fostering parents which nourished Creeshna. This circumstance also is not without a parallel in the apocryphal Gospels; for, according to that attributed to St. James, the publicity of Zachariah's prophecy concerning the Messiah, and the supernatural pregnancy of his wife, being notorious at Jerusalem, Herod, disappointed in the destruction of the infant Jesus, or, perhaps, from these uncommon circumstances attending his nativity, conceiving that John himself might be the predicted Messiah, sent to Zachariah, then attending at the altar, and demanded the child of him, with intent to devote him to slaughter with the other innocents. Elizabeth, however, having previously sent her son into the

* Evangelium Infantiæ, edit. Fabricii, p. 111.

wilderness, Zachariah positively denied any knowledge of where the infant was; and, persisting in this answer, was slain at the altar by the exasperated soldiers. It is to this Zachariah, and to this fact, according to the same Gospel, that our Saviour alluded, when he uttered his severe denunciation against the Jews for the massacre of the prophets, *from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, who was slain between the temple and the altar.** Matth. xxiii. 35. Had the spurious Gospels contained no greater outrages on sense and Scripture than the above, they would not have excited so much abhorrence in the Christian world.

Soon after the birth of Creeshna, the holy Σοφος, or Indian prophet NARED, hearing of the fame of the infant Creeshna, pays a visit to his supposed father and mother at Gokul, examines the *stars*, consults the *horoscope*, inspects his *hand*, (for, the Indians, in the most ancient periods, practised the art of chiromancy,) and declares him to be of celestial descent; all which has every appearance of being a direct imitation of the account, in sacred story, of the Magi observing the star, and visiting and adoring the infant Saviour in Bethlehem.

It is remarkable, that one of the first miracles performed by Creeshna, when mature, was the curing of a leper: it is remarkable, I say, because, curing the leprosy is the first miracle recorded of Christ by St. Matthew, with whose Gospel the Evangelium Infantiæ seems to be particularly connected. The cure of Mary Magdalen, also, out of whom seven devils were cast (a mode of expression used, perhaps allegorically, for numerous defects and infirmities, mental and corporeal,) and her anointing our Saviour with precious ointments from an alabaster box, are plainly recognized in the following story. "Being advanced a little farther they met a poor cripple, or lame woman, having a vessel filled with spices, sweet-

* Vide Protevangelium Jacobi, p. 23, apud Fabric. p. 25.

scented oils, sandal-wood, saffron, civet, and other perfumes. Kisna making a halt, she made a certain sign with her finger on his forehead, casting the rest upon his head. Kisna asking her what it was she would request of him, the woman replied, Nothing but the use of my limbs. Kisna, then, setting his foot upon hers, and taking her by the hand, raised her from the ground, and not only restored her limbs, but also renewed her age, so that, instead of a wrinkled tawny skin, she got a fresh and fair one in an instant. At her request, Kisna and his company lodged the following night in her house."* This story will be found somewhat differently related in the subsequent Life of Creeshna, and in a manner that proves the whole must be understood *allegorically*, and alludes not to *corporeal*, but *mental*, deformity.

The above parallel facts seem to have been copied by the Brahmins immediately from the genuine Gospels; but the greater part of their imitations is derived through the medium of the spurious ones, which, in those times, were more generally diffused through Asia. With two or three more quotations, of a similar kind, from the latter, I shall close the very extended, but compelled, digression which occasions this second introductory chapter to the History of Creeshna.

Creeshna, being brought up among shepherds, wanted the advantage of a preceptor to teach him the sciences. Afterwards, when he went to Mathura, a tutor, profoundly learned, was obtained for him; but, in a very short time, he became such a scholar as utterly to astonish and perplex his master with a variety of the most intricate questions in Sanscreet science. With this story seems to be intimately connected a corresponding account in the Apocryphal Gospels above alluded to;† where we are informed, that Rabbi

* Baldæus apud Harris, vol. iii. p. 875.

† Codex Apocryphus, vol. i. p. 207, in Cotelerii Versione.

Zacchæus, who was the preceptor of the infant Jesus, when he began to teach him the Hebrew alphabet, and wished him to repeat after him Aleph, the holy Child said Beth; and, when he was to pronounce Beth, said Ghimel; and so on to the end of the alphabet. It is added, that afterwards opening the Bible, and turning to the Prophets, he read the astonished tutor a long lecture out of them, and entered into discussions on the abstrusest topics of the Hebrew theology.

"At a certain time," says the history of our Indian deity, "Creeshna taking a walk with the other cowherds, they chose him their king, and every one had his place assigned him under the new king."* And, in the Evangelium Infantiæ, we read, *Mense autem* Adar *congregavit Jesus pueros, eosque tanquam* REX *disposuit. Straverant enim vestes suas in terra, ut super illas consideret, et coronam e floribus consertam capiti ejus imposuerant.*†

At page 123 of the Arabic edition of the spurious Gospel, the infant Jesus, declaring himself to be the good *Shepherd*, turns all his young companions into *sheep;* but, afterwards, at the solicitation of their parents, restores them to their proper form. This is evidently the counterpart of what will be related, in the subsequent pages, concerning the creation, by Creeshna, of new sheep, and new cow-boys, when Brahma, to try the divinity of the former, had stolen those which belonged to Nanda's farm.

Again, Creeshna's combat with the dreadful serpent CALLINAGA, who had poisoned all the cowherds, makes a conspicuous, and, as will be hereafter seen, a truly important, part of his history. The Apocryphal Gospel, at page 133 of the edition above alluded to, records a most remarkable adventure of the infant Saviour with a serpent who had poisoned one of his companions; for, he not only compels that serpent to suck back the venom out of the wound, but

* Baldæus apud Harris, p. 873.

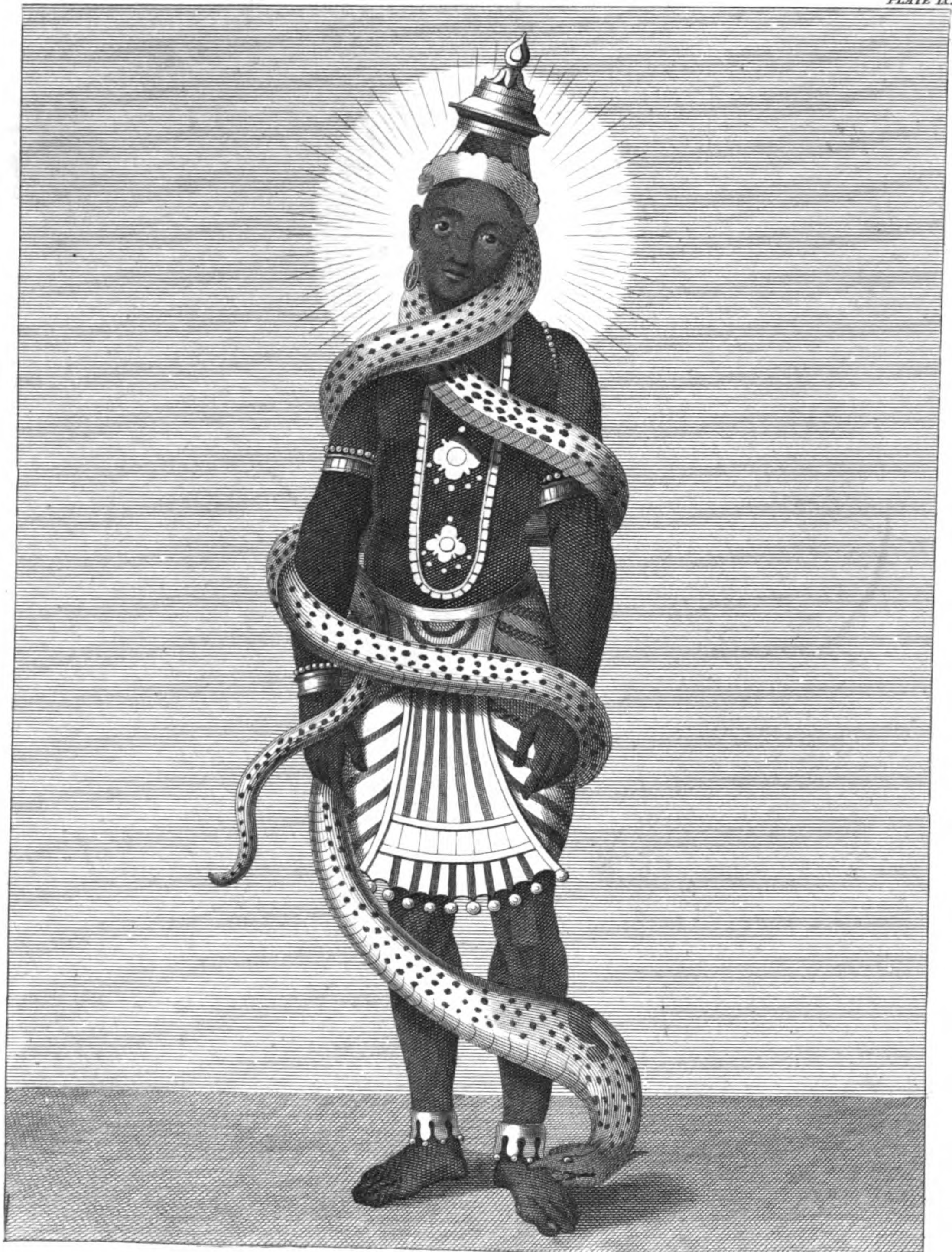
† Codex Apocryphus, p. 127.

causes the animal, after repeating upon him the original malediction, to burst asunder with the increased quantity and virus of the poison.

I should be ashamed to insert these puerile fables in the pages of a serious history, were it not absolutely necessary for the proof of the original position, that the Indian legend, the Koran, which may be called the Arabian legend, and the Apocryphal Gospels, have an intimate connection; and that the greater part, if not all, of these romantic details, are founded on the perversion and mutilation of various parts of the ORIGINAL SCRIPTURES. The investigation was not less unpleasant for myself to make than it may be irksome to some of my readers to peruse; but it would be very imprudent, and even criminal, after what has been not merely *insinuated*, but boldly *averred*, on the subject, by M. Volney and other sceptics, to have published, especially at this period, the following Life of Creeshna, without every possible effort to guard the reader against accidental misconception as well as purposed misrepresentation.

THE SERPENT BITING CREESHNA'S HEEL.

PLATE IX.



another Corruption of the Grand primæval Tradition.

To the Right Revd. George Lord Bishop of Lincoln, this powerful additional attestation to the truth of the Mosaic Records is gratefully & most respectfully inscribed by

T. M.

THE

LIFE

OF

CREESHNA,

THE

EIGHTH INDIAN AVATAR:

FROM THE

BHAGAVAT PURANA.

PART THE FIRST:

CONTAINING THE EXPLOITS OF CREESHNA DURING HIS INFANCY AND YOUTH,
TILL THE DEATH OF CANSA, THE TYRANT KING OF MATHURA.

THE LIFE OF CREESHNA.

AT a period when the Earth was become overloaded with injustice and oppression, she assumed the form of a milch-cow,* and went to utter her complaints to the *creator* Brahma. Brahma, taking compassion on her, directed and accompanied her to Mahadeva, because, of the three sovereign deities that preside over the universe, Mahadeva is the *avenger*. When arrived at Kylass, the capital of the latter deity, before Brahma had spoken, Mahadeva, knowing the object of their visit, observed that there was a third sacred personage, the redresser of the evils of the world, and that they ought all to recollect *the preserver* Veeshnu.† In consequence, Brahma, with Mahadeva, the milch-cow, and other attendant Devatás, repaired all together to Vaicontha, the palace of Veeshnu. At their entrance a secret voice informed them their complaints should be redressed, adding, " I will become incarnate at Mathura, in the house of YADU, and will issue forth to mortal birth from the womb of Devaci. Since, in their former life, Vasudeva and Devaci‡ have, by earnest prayer and penance, besought of me a son; and, since Nanda and Yasodha|| have merited my protection, it is time that I should display my power in that region, and relieve the oppressed

* This idea is perfectly in unison with that in the Egyptian system of mythology, where Isis, the universal mother, the Dea Multimamma, was symbolized by a *cow*.

† Hence it is manifest that the Bhagavat was written by one of the sect of Veeshnu, since this is evidently said with an intent to exalt the power and consequence of Veeshnu above those of the two former deities.

‡ Creeshna's real father and mother.

|| Creeshna's foster father and mother.

Earth from its load." After this declaration, Brahma, Mahadeva, with the other Devatas, and that milch-cow, which is the Earth personified, departed to their respective habitations.

Mathura was, at that time, the capital of the kingdom of the Yadavas, and had, for its sovereign, a prince named CANSA, a merciless tyrant, the son of Ogur Sein, whom he had deposed, and on whose usurped throne he reigned. Cansa, young himself, had a sister much younger, who, on being arrived at a proper age, he bestowed in marriage on a Brahmin of royal descent and eminent for his piety, whose residence was at Gokul, a city situated three cose higher on the other side of the Jumna. The bridegroom had reached his nineteenth year, the bride her twelfth, the usual period of espousal in Hindostan; both happily ignorant of the disasters that awaited their union. The most splendid preparations were made for the celebration of the marriage, and Cansa gave his sister Devaci a portion worthy of so potent a monarch. It consisted, according to the custom of the country in those periods, of four hundred stout elephants, fifteen hundred chosen horses, eighteen thousand carriages adorned with gold and jewels, beside other valuable articles, and a great sum in money. He himself, on the day of their marriage, to do them honour, sat on the same car with Vasudeva and Devaci, in the place of the driver. On their return from celebrating the nuptials, he heard a voice, saying, " Cansa, beware! the eighth son of Devaci will be your destroyer." Cansa was exceedingly alarmed at this intelligence; he let fall the reins on the neck of the horses, and, seizing Devaci by the hair of her head with one hand, drew his sword with the other with intent to cut it off, when Vasudeva represented to him that a woman was not liable to be killed for any crime, particularly as she was his own sister. After much expostulation, Vasudeva promised, and solemnly engaged, to give up to Cansa all the children whom Devaci should bring forth, which he might have liberty to destroy for his own security. Cansa at length

consented that she should live, and went directly to his palace, giving orders to keep Vasudeva and Devaci in strict confinement.

Devaci, in the course of as many years, had eight children, seven sons and one daughter. As soon as the first was born, Vasudeva himself carried it to Cansa; who, satisfied with the offer, and reflecting that it would be equally useless and unjust to destroy the first male for the sake of the eighth, returned it to Vasudeva, who joyfully bore it away, though not without suspicion that the tyrant would alter his mind. At the same time the sage Nared came to Cansa and thus addressed him: "Why do you slumber over your own destruction? the child now dismissed perhaps may be your destroyer." Nared then went away: and Cansa, re-demanding the child, instantly put it to death, in spite of the remonstrances of Ogur Sein, his mother, and the surrounding nobles. He even threw his own father into prison for opposing him, and doubled his vigilance over Vasudeva and Devaci; ordering them both into still closer confinement in the inmost apartment of a prison, only accessible through seven iron doors. In process of time Cansa, in the same manner, destroyed six of Devaci's children. When she became pregnant a seventh time, a secret voice exclaimed, "Take this FIRE of mine, which is in Devaci's womb, and carry it to Gokul, and place it in that of Roheenee, out of the reach of Cansa." When the fire of Bhagavat (the third Rama, Creeshna's elder brother) was thus transplanted from the womb of Devaci to that of Roheenee, Devaci thought she had miscarried, and this account obtained credit in the town and palace. After some time, Devaci again grew pregnant, and, by the blessing of heaven on this pregnancy, her beauty suddenly shone forth with such transcendent splendour, that Vasudeva, her husband's countenance itself, became bright, and the very wall of her chamber was illuminated. Shortly after, Brahma and Mahadeva, with a chorus of other Devatas, came thither, and, cele-

brating with songs the praises of Vasudeva and Devaci, exclaimed, "In the delivery of this favoured woman all nature shall have cause to exult; how ardently do we long to behold that face for the sake of which we have coursed round the three worlds." Cansa, on these auspicious signs of the pregnancy of Devaci, the report of which spread instantly through the palace, and, hearing at the same time that the faces of the father and mother were suddenly become so transcendently bright, imagined, for a certainty, that this was the child that should slay him, and consulted with his wisest counsellors whether he should not at once destroy Devaci; but, again reflecting that it was on all accounts horrible to kill a pregnant woman, he contented himself with the fixed determination to devote the child to death the instant it was born. The tyrant of Mathura, however, was continually haunted with the idea of the *eighth son*,* his fated destroyer; and the avenger of his crimes appeared ever in his view.

At length, in the month Bhadron, at deep midnight, on the eighth of that month, on a Wednesday, at a time when the world was distracted with tumults and contention, in the house of Vasudeva, *appeared* the miraculous child, the celestial phænomenon, conspicuous with eight arms. The moment Vasudeva saw the infant, his eyes were opened, he knew it to be the Almighty, and De-

* "Upon this occasion," says Baldæus, "I cannot but observe, that this, as well as the ensuing part of the story of *Kisna*, (Creeshna,) seems to have a near relation to the history of the birth of our Saviour, his flight into Egypt, the murder of the innocent children by Herod, Christ's miracles and ascension, &c." The learned missionary might have easily accounted for the similitude, had he reflected for a moment on the numerous disciples of St. Thomas, who formerly flourished in that very region of India to which he went as missionary, and who probably early imported thither both the genuine and the spurious Gospels. The artless and illiterate apostles were certainly never acquainted with the Poorauns of India, but the Magi and the Brahmins, as has been already amply demonstrated, had among them, in the native dialects of Asia, the spurious Gospel attributed to St. Thomas, and all the adulterated theology professed by the Nestorians, the Manichees, and other eastern sects of Christians, much of which they probably incorporated with their own legends.

vaci and himself immediately began their devout addresses. After some time thus employed, the Creator of the world again closed the eyes of Vasudeva's and Devaci's understanding, and they again *thought* that a child was born unto them. A secret voice was then heard distinctly to utter these words: "Son of Yadu, take up this child and carry it to Gokul to the house of Nanda, where Yasodha hath this moment been delivered of a daughter, which is to be conveyed with celerity hither." Vasudeva, struck with astonishment, answered, "How shall I obey this injunction, thus vigilantly guarded and barred in by seven iron doors that prohibit all egress?" The unknown voice replied, "The doors shall open of themselves to let thee pass, and behold I have caused a deep slumber to fall upon thy guards, which shall continue till thy journey be accomplished." Vasudeva immediately felt his chains miraculously loosened, and, taking up the child in his arms, hurried with it through all the doors, the guards being buried in profound sleep. When he came to the Jumna, the waters immediately rose up to kiss the child's feet, and then respectfully retired on each side to make way for its transportation. Vasudeva with the utmost speed proceeded in the execution of his commission, and, reaching the house of Nanda, punctually fulfilled all that he was enjoined. Yasodha, in fact, knew not that she had been delivered of a daughter; for, the interposing deity had brought forgetfulness on her, and, when Vasudeva was gone, she took the child he had left for her son. On Vasudeva's return to the banks of the Jumna the waters miraculously divided as before, he once more passed dry-shod to the opposite shore, and, the moment he reached the chamber of his prison, the chains came again upon his feet and hands, the locks became all closed, the guards awakened, and all heard the child cry; on which, they hastened to give notice to Cansa, who immediately ran, undressed as he was, to the prison, where Devaci, with both hands, trembling, presented to him her infant. Cansa received it with a

frowning and terrific countenance, and was going to dash it against the stones, when the child suddenly darted from his hands, and mounted up into the air, bedecked with all the splendid ornaments and numerous arms of a Devata, exclaiming with a loud voice, as in a flash of lightning she departed, "O Cansa! the punishment you merit in attempting my destruction awaits yourself; be assured that your destroyer also *is already born.*" Cansa was appalled, and trembled exceedingly at beholding this miracle. After a variety of bitter and painful reflections on the instability of human affairs, he determined to release Vasudeva and Devaci from confinement; and thus terminated the events of that wonderful night!

The next morning at sun-rise Cansa summoned a council, to know what was to be done in this moment of dreadful emergency. It was resolved, that, since he was now certain by the Devata's threat that his destroyer was already born, he should cause all the young children throughout his kingdom to be slain; and, if by chance any escaped, that he then should extend his severity to the Zennardars and penitents, when undoubtedly the Devatas, their protectors, would make the discovery. It was also resolved, that soldiers should be employed in the strictest search after the concealed enemy; and that very day the cruel orders were issued. In the mean time, Nanda, who had long wished for a son, was exceedingly elated with the child left by Vasudeva, which Yasodha took for her own, magnificently entertained all Gokul, conferred abundance of alms, worshipped all the Devatas, got together all the necessary preparations, and, by the assistance of the Divine wisdom, named the child Creeshna, because his sacred body was of *a black complexion.** After the lapse of some days, Nanda, in going to Mathura on his domestic concerns, paid a visit to Vasudeva, who, after congratulating him on the birth of his son, informed him of the savage mandate

* More properly *dark blue*, the colour of all the Avatars, to mark their celestial descent.

issued by Cansa for destroying all the young children, and advised him to be vigilant. Nanda, alarmed at the dreadful intelligence, lost no time in settling his affairs in the city, and returned the same day to Gokul. A gigantic fiend, in the form of a woman, by name Pootna, a nurse of infant children, had obtained of Cansa permission to be the dire agent in destroying the hapless innocents; and this fury, going out of Mathura, let them suck her breasts, and killed them all with her poisoned nipples. Arriving at Gokul, she concealed her own deformed figure under that of a beautiful woman, and presented herself at Nanda's door, where stood Yasodha and Roheenee, (the supposed mother of Rama,) and they, seduced by her appearance, admitted her into the house. She immediately cast her eyes on the cradle of the young Creeshna, and began to fondle him and put her nipple into his mouth. The child, however, instantly drew it forth with such force, that blood gushed out instead of milk,* and she fell down dead at his feet. Immediately, on touching the ground, her body resumed its natural gigantic shape, and covered no less than six cose. At her death the heavens and the earth resounded. The men of Gokul employed labourers to cut the body limb from limb with sharp weapons, and burnt it with faggots, collected together with great difficulty, from the number requisite for its consumption. The smoke that ascended from the pile perfumed the whole neighbourhood; for, having been slain by Creeshna, his touch gave her body the fragrance of the richest aromatics, and secured her MOOKT, or eternal beatitude. Nature felt the shock of Pootna's fall, and, while the inhabitants of Gokul were stricken with wonder and affright, Yasodha, astonished, beheld her young infant playing on the breast of the dead monster. She instantly ran and snatched him away, and began to pray to all

* Thus Hercules is said to have sucked the breast of Juno with such violence, as to spill a great quantity of the milk, which, overflowing the sky, formed in it the milky way.

the Devatas to protect him. Cansa, when he heard that a sucking child had slain Pootna, was terribly alarmed, and again summoned a council, at which, a Zinnardar, named Seedher, engaged to slay both Ram and Creeshna. Accordingly he went to Gokul, and was there most kindly received by Yasodha: he immediately entreated to see the children: Yasodha desired him to wait till they awoke, and till she should return from bathing in the Jumna. This was the very opportunity he wished for, to destroy the child in the mother's absence. With that fell intent he advanced towards Creeshna's cradle; but the child exclaimed, "Ha! are you coming to kill me?" and, starting up in his cradle, seized the assassin by the two hands, and, though he would not kill him, disjointed him in such a manner that he fell to the ground like a dead tree, utterly deprived of speech. Creeshna returned to his cradle, and, after rubbing some bream in his mouth, lay down again as composed as if nothing had happened. In this state was the Zinnardar found by Yasodha, but, as he was speechless, he could only point with his hand towards the cradle. Yasodha immediately conceived that he was an emissary sent by Cansa to dispatch the child, and, calling aloud for assistance, thrust him out of the town.

In Nanda's court-yard there by chance stood a large carriage, on which Yasodha placed the child's cradle; and, as soon as he was asleep, busied herself in some other affairs of her farm. When the child awoke, it cried for victuals; and, becoming impatient, began to kick most violently, and presently kicked the carriage all to pieces. Nanda, coming back soon after, conceived that the child had escaped some other great calamity; nor would he believe the other children, playing near the spot, who told him the infant had done it; but again distributed abundance of alms for his son's escape.

One day, Ternaveret, a raksha, by order of Cansa, went to Gokul; and first raised such a tempest, that the whole place was in-

volved in midnight darkness: then, assuming the form of a whirlwind, he carried Creeshna up aloft into the air. During the consternation, occasioned by this circumstance, Nanda and Yasodha saw the raksha fall suddenly to the ground, with a noise like the fall of Pootna, and Creeshna playing on his breast, whence Nanda instantly snatched him away. Another day, as Yasodha was fondling and kissing her dear infant, he opened his mouth, and she saw therein the heavens and the earth, the sun and moon, sea and land, the mountains and valleys of the whole world. She was astonished, and began to think herself seized with sudden insanity; nor afterwards could she tell what to make of this wonderful child; but, from that day, took him to all the doctors and magicians, adorned his neck with amulets, had him charmed, and collected together a great quantity of tigers' claws and bears' hair to drive away impending danger.

Cansa still offering great rewards for the extermination of Creeshna, a certain Ditya, assuming the figure of a huge crow, promised the king to destroy both the children by pecking out their eyes; but they soon squeezed it to death, and threw the corpse to the ground; while a great noise was heard like thunder, so that all the people in the neighbourhood, being alarmed, flew with speed to the spot, wondering who had killed this crow, and whence had proceeded the noise. Vasudeva, in constant fear of Cansa, had sent Roheenee, as soon as she proved pregnant, to Gokul, and concealed the circumstance of her having been delivered of a son. One day, he requested of Nared and Garga, two celebrated prophets and astrologers, to go to Gokul, to cast the nativity of the child, (Ram,) and give him a name; acquainting them, at the same time, with his apprehensions concerning Cansa. Nanda, at Gokul, gave the seers a most welcome reception; when Garga informed him, they were sent by Vasudeva to give a name to Roheenee's child. Nanda wished them also to give a name to *his* child. Nared, having cal-

culated the horoscope for Roheenee's son, named him Ram; and said, men would also call him Bali, on account of his superior strength. He then cast his eyes on *Creeshna's stars*, and presently pronounced that he was not the son of Nanda, but of Vasudeva and Devaçi; expressing at the same time his wonder at Devaçi's having a daughter, when he knew of her pregnancy. He insisted that this must be Devaci's eighth son, and the daughter, Nanda's child; nor could he be prevailed upon to give him any other name. The hoary priest, with his comrade, after this solemn declaration, returned to Mathura. Mean time, the two children always remained inseparable, and learned to walk together, either round their beds, or by holding a calf's tail in their hands. Creeshna, in particular, grew daily more and more in favour with the Gopias, or milk-maids, of Nanda's farm, and became extremely fond of playing them tricks; spilling their milk, stealing their cream, and always making cunning escapes, or shuffling excuses: so that Nanda's house resounded with their complaints. Yet still they were all in love with the wanton little urchin. One day, Belender, with Soodata, Sheedarman, and other herdsmen, came and told Yasodha, that Creeshna had eaten up all the curd, which extremely incensed that prudent dame. But Creeshna denied the fact, and desired her to look in his mouth; which she did, by opening it with one hand, and holding both his in her other. She there, a second time, to her utter astonishment, saw the whole world displayed; and then at length her mind became enlightened, and she knew him to be the ALMIGHTY. However, Creeshna, knowing the time was not yet arrived for the awful discovery, clouded her understanding again, and she, once more, conceived him to be really and properly her son.

Creeshna now grew apace; and one day was playing about in his mother's arms, while she was making butter out of the cream; but, accidentally, a pot of milk boiling over, she put away the child to take care of the pot. Creeshna, thinking she liked the milk better

than himself, threw all the cream down; and, seeing his mother angry, affected to run away, the mother pursuing him till she was quite out of breath; at length, the amiable and affectionate child, perceiving that she tired herself in the pursuit, *suffered* her to catch him. She then endeavoured to tie the hands of the little urchin; but all the string she had or could procure would not suffice, till at length he himself *permitted* it to be enough.

As some new evil seemed every day to threaten them, the men of Gokul came to a resolution of quitting the place, and Nanda advised them to move to Binderaben, an excellent spot, and close to the mountain Goverdhana. Accordingly, finding a lucky moment, they mounted their goods on carriages and departed with their cattle; and, on their arrival there, they unloaded their goods and made an inclosure with the carriages. Creeshna was at this time about five years old, and was sent into the field to attend the calves to pasture. One day, by order of Cansa, Vetes Assoor Ditye came thither, in form of a three-years-old cow, and attempted to molest Creeshna. The omniscient child soon knew it not to be a cow, and asked his brother Balhadur Rama if he knew who it was; then, putting his hand on one horn and holding by the other, he threw it on the ground with such violence that it was killed by the blow, and he returned to his play with the other cow-herds. Another day, Pek Assoor Ditya came thither, and, sitting on the bank of the Jumna, waited for Creeshna's coming, to swallow him up like a fish. The cow-keepers coming thither found this Pek Assoor, like a huge alligator, lying on the river's side, and told Creeshna; who, on seeing it, knew it to be Pek Assoor, and not a fish. Immediately on his coming near, the alligator seized him with his jaws, and swallowed him, rejoicing that now he had accomplished the ardent desire of his sovereign. But Creeshna began to burn the entrails of the finny monster, so that he had no power to retain his prey, but threw up Creeshna again from his mouth. Still wishing to seize him again,

he stretched out his snout, when Creeshna, seizing the two parts with his two hands, tore his jaws asunder, and then bathed in the river in great tranquillity. The cow-keepers on returning home told all these things to Nanda, and all men observed that these calamities pursued Creeshna; but concluded, that, as his destiny had saved him from Pootna, so it would continue to preserve him in all other cases.

It was customary with Creeshna, the cow-keepers, and herds, to wander sometimes about the mountain Goverdhana and sometimes in Binderaben. One day, at the instigation of Cansa, Aghe Assoor Ditya came to revenge the death of his brothers Vetes Assoor and Pek Assoor, and, assuming the shape of a dragon, sat at the end of a road. One of his jaws touched the ground and the other was stretched up to the clouds, while his mouth yawned like the pass in a mountain. Creeshna, Balhadur, and the others, soon came that way, to his great joy. As none but Creeshna knew what it was, but thought the object before them to be a hollow way, one and all with their herds went into the dragon's mouth, and Creeshna pitying their situation followed them. At that time Devatas, Veedyadhers, Deivs, and Rakshas, hovered in the air to behold the event; the two first in great anxiety lest Creeshna and the rest should be destroyed, and the Deivs and Rakshas exulting from their attachment to Cansa. Creeshna, though a child, made himself so large and ponderous, and so fastened his body in the monster's throat, that he could not bring his jaws together, and the whole passage was blocked up in such a manner, that no breath could escape; while his soul, being streightened with the pain, fled from the body of the dragon, and began to turn in the air like a flame of fire. The Devatas in transport sang JEYE! JEYE! and rained flowers; that flame of fire coming back was extinguished in Creeshna's mouth, and the whole company with their herds came out of the dragon, and returned safely home to their usual occupations. The dragon's body drying remained a

long time in that place like a mountain, and the children used to play upon it; but his soul obtained liberation through Creeshna. Creeshna observed to the other cow-boys that this dead dragon was of gr eat use to them on the banks of the river, where before there was only plain ground, either for the purpose of playing upon, or of looking from that eminence after the stray cattle. Happy, happy, envied cow-boys! who, day and night, enjoyed the company of Creeshna, and partook of his food and shared his affection!

It happened one day, while they were all together sitting in the shade, that the calves strayed away; Creeshna immediately promised to collect them and bring them back; but, mounting up into a tree, he could not obtain a sight of them. The fact was, that on that day evil suggestions had seized Brahma's mind,* who could not reconcile to himself that the Devatas should all take this child, who had slain Pek Assoor and Aghe Assoor, for the Creator of the world; and, by way of trial, he determined to steal away both cattle and boys; being convinced, that Creeshna, if he were the Almighty, could soon create others. Accordingly he stole them all away, and hid them in a cave of the mountain quite inaccessible. Creeshna, after a little reflection, discovered this crafty trick of Brahma; and immediately, by his power, created other calves and boys, in all things, as well in temper as external marks, perfect resemblances of the others, which he carried to the place where they had been sitting, and at night they went home with him as usual. The cows all took them for their own calves, and ran to meet them and give them milk, and fondly licked them. The fathers and mothers also of the children took each, respectively, for their own; so that not the least suspicion of the counterfeit arose among them: nay, the maternal and filial affections were even greater than before. An entire year

* The reader will be pleased constantly to bear in mind, that the Bhagavat is the production of one of the sect of Veeshnu, anxious to exalt the peculiar deity of his devotion above Brahma and Mahadeva.

passed in this manner; when one day, the milch-cows, grazing by the mountain where Brahma had concealed the calves, heard the lowing of their own offspring; and, at an unusual time of the day, began to give down their milk to their young. Brahma was astonished at the circumstance, and did not know whether they were newly-created calves, or those he had stolen; nor could he, after the closest examination, perceive any difference between them. His senses were for a time totally lost in amazement, and strayed from his body. Sometimes he thought that he saw all the cow-boys of the form and colour of Creeshna; and, at others, he seemed to behold Brahma and Mahadeva, and all the Devatas, in praises and adoration, standing before each cow-boy. Thus having for a time been deprived of intellect, as a punishment for his temerity, Brahma at length returned to his senses, as if he had awaked from sleep; and, rubbing his eyes and starting from his place, came and prostrated all his four heads at Creeshna's feet, in a fit of the deepest repentance. Nor could Creeshna for a time mitigate the severe sense of shame which he experienced from the remembrance of his past folly. Brahma now commenced a long oration in apology for his conduct; and, after a multitude of excuses, the calves which had been created instead of those he had stolen, and which he saw before his eyes, disappeared; and, though one entire year had elapsed during this degraded state of Brahma, it seemed to be no more than a moment since it happened: for, notwithstanding this presumptuous idea of trying Creeshna's omnipotence arose on Aghe Assoor's being slain, he, at this very moment, beheld the spot of ground where Creeshna had been sitting and eating with the other cow-boys; he saw him now in the act of collecting together the calves, and he heard the cow-boys, on their seeing Creeshna, calling out to him to make haste, adding, that they had not tasted any thing during his absence. Creeshna after this dismissed Brahma in comfort, and he himself sat down and finished his meal with the

boys, returned homeward with them in the evening, and by the way began to play on his flute, when men, and birds, and beasts, and Devatas, were ravished with pleasure. The Gopias, when he came near their habitations, all ran out and stood in the road to hear him, and tears of pleasure fell from their eyes, while their hearts yearned towards the gentle Creeshna.—The rajah here interrupted the narration, and asked of Sekedeva, Why did the Gopias prefer Creeshna to their property and their children? Sekedeva answered, "There is nothing in the world dearer than property and children, except life, and, therefore, Veeshnu Perebrahm, which is in our bodies, is most dear. When a person is in pain, will he look to his wealth and children instead of procuring ease to his soul? Therefore Creeshna is the soul of all the world, and nothing is so dear as the soul."

Thus Creeshna, though only five years old, amused himself, and Balhadur, his brother, and the other cow-boys, with all sorts of children's sports when they ranged together in the woods or on the banks of the ponds. One day a cow-boy professed a desire to go and eat the delicious fruits of the TAL ben, but had heard that it was haunted by a raksha named Dhenek, whose dreadful character for rapacity and cruelty prevented all persons from going thither. Creeshna, however, led them to the ben, and they all began to gather the fruit, when the noise they made among the dry leaves awakened the raksha, who was sleeping there in the form of a wild ass. Immediately starting up, he ran towards them with his attendants, ploughing up the earth with his hoofs and teeth, and coming up to Balhadur, who was first, struck with his two fore-feet on his breast, and, retreating, endeavoured to repeat his blow; but Balhadur, with one of his hands, caught both the fore-feet of the raksha, lifted him up in the air, and, swinging him over his head, threw him on the ground with such force that his soul fled from his body. After which Balhadur and Creeshna each killed a

number of the species of wild animal whose body that soul had animated. The cow-boys afterwards, in perfect security, plucked as much fruit as they chose, and returned home.

An infinite variety of these adventures caused the name of Creeshna to be venerated by the good, and terrible to the wicked. Monsters in nature and monsters out of nature were perpetually conjured up to attack the divine infant, who, with ease, discomfited them all, and gained new glory from every fresh combat. At length the great envenomed serpent KALLI NAGA (literally *black* or *evil serpent)* determined to try his strength with him, and, with his enormous bulk, took possession of the river Jumna, in whose bed he lay concealed and whose stream he poisoned. The instant that the cattle tasted the water they fell down dead on the banks, and the cow-boys, going in the evening to bathe in the river, as soon as they were immersed and their lips touched the flood, they also expired. Creeshna, being informed of this dreadful calamity, immediately hastened down to the river-side, and, by his omniscient power, soon discovered the cause. As his former companions lay dead in multitudes around him, he was filled with compassion at their untimely fate, and, *casting upon them an eye of divine mercy*, they immediately arose, and, with looks of astonishment, inquired what disaster had befallen them, and what enchantment had deprived them of their senses and recollection? He restored also the cattle to life, and all, when evening approached, went quietly home to their several occupations at Nanda's farm.

In the mean time, the passage of the river being obstructed by the recumbent serpent, and extirpation threatened both to men and beasts by the poisoned waters, Creeshna determined at all events to attack the usurper, and clear the river of its deadly infection. He assumed no other appearance than that infantine one which naturally belonged to him in the assumed veil of mortality; nor armed himself with any other panoply than the sacred *chank*, and the in-

nocence of a child. The next morning, therefore, at a time when Balhadur was not with them, he went with the other boys and the cows and calves to the side of the river, where the serpent was sleeping; and, getting up into a palm-tree on the river's side, he began clapping his hands so violently, and sounded the sacred shell so loud, that the old serpent awoke, and lifted up his heads to see who it was that had the insolence to disturb him. Creeshna leapt from the tree into the water, and dashed it about violently with his two hands. The Devatas, alarmed by the noise, came to behold the spectacle. The serpent vomited streams of fire from his mouth and nostrils, aimed at once a thousand bites with his thousand heads, and twisted his enormous folds round Creeshna's whole body. On seeing this, the cow-boys fell down in despair. The unhappy omen was soon published throughout Gokul and the farm. Roheenee, and Yasodha, and all the men and women, immediately hastened together to the spot by the tracts of the cows and calves; and, as they did not observe Creeshna among the cow-boys, eagerly inquired of them where he was; but they were so utterly absorbed in grief and apprehension that they returned no answer. This silence threw the whole multitude into complete despair, and they fell prostrate to the ground. Balhadur, however, came at last, and he consoled the Gopas and Gopias, by assuring them that Creshna would overcome this the greatest of all dangers with the same ease as he had that of Pootna, Ternaveret, and other Dityas and Rakshas. Creeshna, at length, seeing they were all come thither out of their extreme anxiety on his account, to relieve them, took hold of the serpent's heads, one after another; and, tearing them from his body, SET HIS FOOT ON THEM, and began to dance in triumph on each of them.* The monster struggled in vain; and, after expending all his poison, found

* See this fact represented on the sphere, where the foot of *Hercules* presses down the head of the *serpent*.

himself totally overwhelmed by the superior power of his antagonist, who might properly be called *the strength of the world*. The wife of the serpent, and his children, (for, all the gods, superior and inferior, of India, are married,) now came to the water-side, and entreated Creeshna to release him, acknowledging that they knew the Saviour of the world to have been born in Gokul; and that he, who is under his foot, whether as a friend or an enemy, has, by that circumstance, secured his liberation. They plead the serpent's malignant disposition and constitution to have been given him by Creeshna himself; and, among other apologies, observe, that, in consequence of this event, the name of Kalli-Naga will subsist to the end of the world, since each of his heads has been honoured with a touch of *Creeshna's foot*. Creeshna at length took pity on the serpent's wife and children; and said to him, "Begone quickly into the abyss; this place is not proper for thee. Since I have combated with thee, thy name shall remain during all the period of time; and Devatas and men shall henceforth remember thee without dismay." So the serpent, with his wife and children, went into the abyss; and all that water, which had been infected by his poison, became pure and wholesome.

After this victory, Creeshna came out of the water, in external appearance shuddering and shivering like a child, and clung close to his mother's side. Yasodha and all the Gopias were extremely alarmed, except only Balhadur, who was smiling. Nanda remarked this, and concluded that he would not have smiled if there had been any real danger. On asking him, he replied, "That he laughed to think Creeshna was totally fearless while treading on the serpent's thousand heads with his feet, yet now stood trembling by the side of his mother." The day beginning to draw near its close, all the people, both small and great, eat and drank there, and laid down to sleep. Suddenly, at midnight, they found themselves in the midst of a fire which had seized the jungle on all sides of them, so that

there seemed no way for them to escape its fury. They were all quickly roused, and their whole care was how to save Creeshna. He, knowing their thoughts, took all the fire into his mouth and swallowed it, and no one knew how it was extinguished, but all thought it had died away of itself. After returning thanks to God for their delivery, they went in the morning to Bindreben to their usual occupations.

While Creeshna and the other children were amusing themselves with sports suitable to their age, a certain gigantic Ditya assumed the figure of a young child, and mixed with them, undiscovered by all but Creeshna, who told Ram of it. They then proposed a play, in which the conquerors should ride on the backs of the losers, and Ram was in one party and Creeshna in the other. Ram's party conquered, and each mounted upon his fellow. Ram rode upon the giant, who, now thinking the day was gained, mounted up into the air with Ram on his back, and assumed his natural shape, while all the others went towards Bindreben. Ram, having been forewarned by Creeshna, was not alarmed, but, on the contrary, rendered himself so heavy that the Ditya could no longer support him, and Ram striking him some blows at the same time with his fist, the Ditya fell to the ground; and the children were not arrived at Bindreben when they were made happy by this spectacle, and praised Ram for having so opportunely avenged his wicked intentions.

One day, while Creeshna and his companions had been playing in the wood, the cows strayed so far in feeding, that they could not be found; but Creeshna mounted a high tree, and, calling each cow with a loud voice by her own name, collected them all together; but as the party were going home, on a sudden they found themselves in the face of a mighty conflagration, which came on them as swift as a horse in full gallop. Immediately they flew to their known protector, Creeshna, who told them to shut all their eyes while he thought of a remedy; and, in an instant, on his bidding them

open them again, they saw neither the fire nor the same place in Bindreben. The cows were where they had been all mustered, and they kept their way homeward. When they came near to Bindreben, the sound of Creeshna's flute struck the ears of the Gopias; all came to the end of the road to wait for him; for, they had determined not to eat any food till they should see the ease-inspiring countenance of Bhagavat. When their several children arrived, they demanded of them why they had made their return so late? They answered, that they had that day escaped a great calamity; having been in danger of a dreadful fire, which Creeshna's power had extinguished. The Gopias immediately went to Nanda's house with this account, but Yasodha paid no credit to it, as not thinking it possible for children to operate such miracles.

When the hot wind had passed away, and the season of Beresat (spring) came on; when the earth re-assumed its green livery, and the bow of heaven beamed benediction on the human race; at this beautiful season, and in a place where nature had lavished all her charms, did Creeshna amuse himself sometimes with the veena and sometimes with his flute, so that the waters stood still to hear him, and the birds lost the power over their wings. The Gopias, who at that time were in Berjepooree, were all fascinated with the sound; and, coming out of their doors, assembled tumultuously together with the most ardent desire to behold him. With one voice they exclaimed, "O that flute of heavenly fabrication is above all eulogy! O the happiness of that reed which rests on his divine lip, and from which he produces those heavenly sounds which steal away the souls from Soors and Assoors, from Mena and Eendra!" On hearing its bewitching notes, the daughters of the Devatas came also to the spot; and, standing with their hands joined together where Creeshna was attending the cattle, remained motionless before him. The cows dropped the grass and corn from their mouths on hearing the tunes he played; and the calves, forgetting their want of nutrition, let go

the dugs from their mouths, and the milk dropped upon the ground. Exactly in the same state were the fawns and other animals standing near him; while Devatas, Reyshees, and Peetrees, all stricken with rapture, fell down senseless beside him. In this happy season did Creeshna bestow joy and satisfaction on all living creatures, and often as he touched his flute in the presence of the adoring Gopias, one exclaimed, "Happy animals, inhabiting Berjeben, who enjoy the sight of Creeshna!" Another said, "O favoured stream of Jumna, and other transparent pools and fountains, whence Creeshna deigns to drink!" Another said, "O happy trees of this wood, under whose thick shade Creeshna delights to slumber!" Another exclaimed, "Melodious above all is the flute which resides for ever on his lip!" Another said, "Honoured above all existing animals are these cattle which the Creator himself leads to pasture!" Thus did the Gopias plunge into the fathomless ocean of love, and admire him who had on a yellow robe, a peacock's feather on his head, a brilliant rosary round his neck, and a flute on his lip, and they said to each other, "How happy are we whom he condescends to love!" In short, by their purity of faith and zeal of attachment, their hearts, at length, became *illumined*, and they knew and comprehended that Creeshna was the Creator of the world.

Once a year the Gopas and Gopias were accustomed to celebrate a Yug, in honour of Eendra. When the anniversary came, Nanda and all the rest made their preparations accordingly, and collected together a great quantity of money, and a variety of articles, for the purpose. While this was doing, Creeshna came into their assembly, and very dutifully requested of his father and the other heads of the place to tell him wherefore all these things were collected, since the young could only receive instructions from the aged? Nanda answered, that all these articles would be expended on a Yug, in honour of Eendra; by whose propitiation rain would descend on the earth, to revive the vegetables, and refresh man and

beast. Creeshna next, with many apologies, begged leave to ask whether any rain fell in those places where men omitted to propitiate Eendra? But not one of them chose to answer.* He then added that rain fell by the power of the Almighty: that men must be exceedingly weak and forgetful not to address themselves to that Being, of whom Eendra himself stood in need. That good and evil, ease and difficulty, pleasure and pain, were the lot of each individual, as the Creator ordained; and Eendra had nothing to do with it. He therefore very submissively proposed, that all these preparations, which had cost so much trouble in collecting, should be distributed among the Brahmins; that part should be given for food to the cows, and the remainder to the necessitous of every description; and he assured them their affairs would not fail to prosper, even more than in other years. This proposal was greatly admired by the wiser part of the assembly; but those, who were of more confined notions, wondered that a child should presume to interfere with the concerns of the Devatas. However, in the end, the contriver of all affairs succeeded in persuading them to adopt his proposition; so that, getting together their best apparel, and ornamenting the horns and bodies of their cows, they went to the mountain Goverdhana; and, going three times the circuit of the mountain, eat the feast. Creeshna, unperceived, took the first morsel and put it to his mouth, and said, " May Brahma, Veeshnu, Mahadeva, and all the Devatas of the three worlds, be satisfied herewith." The instant in which he put the morsel to his mouth, it extended to all the existences of all the worlds, just as water, poured out on the root of a tree, extends its refreshing moisture to all the leaves and branches.

As the men of the Ben neglected the Yug that year, in honour of Eendra, and as Eendra knew it was at the instigation of Creeshna, he

* This apparently is an imitation, by means of the spurious Gospels, of Christ in his infancy disputing among the doctors.

thought it necessary to bring them back to their duty by severity; conceiving Creeshna to have been no more than a mortal, and meaning to put him to shame. Accordingly, summoning the guardian spirit of rain, he ordered him to let loose the rain that was reserved for the day of judgment, and to send such a storm for seven days and nights successively, that all the men and beasts of the place should be drowned; but to take care that it did not rain in any other part. Accordingly on the same instant began a most violent storm of rain, falling in vast torrents, with hail like large stones, and most terrific thunder. The men of the Ben, in agony, called on Creeshna, who desired them all to get on the mountain Goverdhana, and take refuge in a cave there, with their cattle and effects: which they did. *Creeshna then lifted up the mountain on his little finger, with as much ease as if it had been a lotos,* and held it up above the storm; so that the inhabitants were perfectly secure. Eendra, finding his anger took no effect, at length discovered, to his infinite shame and mortification, that Creeshna was the Almighty; and that he had been utterly deceived in supposing him a human creature. So he caused the storm to cease, not without violent apprehensions on his own account. Creeshna, when the rain was over, restored the mountain to its place.

The men of the Ben then left Goverdhana, and went home, wondering how a child of seven years old could perform such miracles, assuring themselves he must be Perebrahme; recounting all his feats from the time he was one year old; and telling Nanda that he never could be *his* child, but must be HE who is exempt from both birth and death. Nanda replied, " It must be so; for, at the period of naming him, the venerable priest Garga told me, " This child is the Almighty Creator, who hath before taken different bodies of a red colour, of white, of yellow, and of black, in his various incarnations, and who now again hath assumed a black colour, since in black all other colours are absorbed; and this child is the

son of Vasudeva, for which reason he shall be called Vasudeva, and shall also assume a different name, according to his several feats. He shall remove all grief and trouble from the Gopias and cow-herds; and doubtless this is Bhagavan." From that day, Nanda and the rest gave credit to what the young boys had related of Creeshna, which they before deemed incredible. Eendra, extremely abashed at his own ignorance and presumption, threw himself to the ground from off his lofty elephant Iravut; and, taking with him the cow Kamdeva, prostrated himself at Creeshna's feet in an agony of shame, and made the most submissive apologies. Creeshna easily forgave him; and, after a lecture, in which he told him, that he, Creeshna, was the same who is called by some the Almighty Power, and by others Necessity, and by others Fate, or Predestination, bid him go home. Iravut and Kamdeva, who stood by, burst out in accents of praise and thanksgiving. The Kinners and Gandharves who accompanied Eendra rained flowers without number, cows out of joy dropped their milk, trees and shrubs acquired new leaves, the water of the river dashed its waves with transport, and rubies and diamonds were found at its bottom.

Eendra went away on the 10th day of the moon; Nanda fasted on the 11th; and on the 12th, at day-break, went to bathe in the Jumna. When he went in, the guardians of the stream, who are the servants of the Devata Varuna, hurried him away under water. As Nanda delayed so very long his return home, his people went out and searched for him every where, but in vain. Ram, too, and Roheenee, and Yasodha, anxiously explored every place for him, and Creeshna offered to do so also. After a little reflection Creeshna found that he was under water, and plunged after him into the stream. Varuna, and the other Devatas who were in Patal, (Hades,) learning Creeshna's approach, came with reverence to salute him, while the former wondered to see the Devatas of Patal fall at his son's feet. Varuna now made many entreaties for pardon for his

servants error in bringing Nanda thither. Creeshna smiled benevolently; and, taking Nanda by the hand, led him back to the terrestrial region from his watery abode: nor did Nanda recollect any of the circumstances that had passed under water, but as a dream. Great rejoicings were made on his return.

At a season of just and delicious temperature of weather, on a certain beautiful evening, Creeshna came to Bindreben. The Devatas, in honour of the moon shining in its meridian lustre, had adorned themselves in variegated chains of pearls and rubies, had robed themselves in vestments of a rose-colour, and rubbed themselves with saffron, so that the earth received fresh splendor from their appearance, and a warm and sweet air breathed around, when Creeshna began to play on his flute. Immediately on hearing it, the Gopias all left their several occupations unfinished, and ran out to listen: even those, whose husbands or parents forbade them, sent their hearts and souls to the place whence the sound proceeded; and thus enflamed with passion, and hurried away from themselves by the ardor of desire, they became worthy of eternal liberation. Creeshna seeing the Gopias there, affected to ask them, " If all was not well at home? That they had come out thither, at night, too, when it was neither usual nor decent for women to leave their houses. If the serenity of the night, which is the promoter of desire, had tempted them thither, they ought to direct those desires towards their husbands, and so obtain at once physical and mental satisfaction. If they should say they came to see *him*, it was well. He had a due regard for the good will of his friends, but he advised them by all means to return directly home, as all dutiful wives should do, to their husbands, and not risk their comfort in this world, and happiness in the next, by slight or ill conduct towards them; since the Vedas, which are the very words of God, declare that a husband, however defective or criminal, is in the place of the Almighty to his wife, therefore they must immediately go

home."* This speech threw them all into despair, which they manifested by all manner of incoherences. One of them even said, that, " When frenzy and distraction seized the mind, all duties and all worldly motives were overturned and forgotten: and that, as they were altogether intoxicated by the sound of his flute, it was in vain to preach up to them their duty or attachment to their husbands. That they well knew that those who would profess an attachment to him must renounce all other connexions, as they did, and that they knew him to be Bhagavan Perebrahme; that, if he ordered them to go, they were *lame*, and their feet would not stir; but, if he called them to him, they *flew*. That, in short, separate himself as much as he would, corporally, he could not escape from their hearts and minds." Creeshna, perceiving them thus sincerely inflamed, would not be too harsh with them, but took each of them in his arms, and treated them with equal tenderness and familiarity; so that, at length, all the happiness and transport that are to be found in the world were collected into one place, in the hearts of the Gopias. Wherever they turned, Creeshna was close to them; and, as women naturally acquiesce in the truth of an idea that pleases them, they concluded Creeshna to be equally fond of them, when, on a sudden, he totally disappeared from among them.

When Creeshna had thus vanished, the Gopias, like a stag strayed from the herd, stared round them on every side in extreme astonishment and despair. They became at once utterly bereaved of sense and reflection, and demanded news of Creeshna from every thing they saw: not a tree or flower that they passed was uninterrogated. At last they addressed the Earth, so often ennobled by the touch of his foot. " The Earth," said they, " certainly enjoyed his regard; for, he it was who, when Hirinakassap† had driven it to Patal with

* This doctrine, suitable enough to the despotism of the East, will not gain Creeshna many female admirers in European regions.

† Referring to the VARA Avatar.

a spurn of his foot, brought it up again on his tusk, and he demanded nothing else but the Earth of Rajah Bali,* and completely engrossd it to himself before he had finished his three steps: therefore the Earth," they argued, "could not be ignorant where he was." While they were thus raving and looking wildly about, one of them espied the print of Creeshna's foot in the sand, and immediately they all set out to follow that tract; and, while thus agitated between hope and despair, they espied another print of his foot, and with it that of a woman. This increased their love and sorrow by the addition of excessive jealousy. They soon came to the green turf where the footsteps could no longer be traced, and they wandered about dejected and forlorn; when, on a sudden, they saw a woman whom they immediately knew for the late companion of Creeshna, and, on asking her where he was, they found that she too was still more a prey to the most poignant grief for his absence, and she united her sorrows to the rest. At length, one of them proposed to cease all this idle search and fruitless wandering, and sit down together to feed their passion by relating the actions of Creeshna's childhood. Accordingly they sat down in the very place where he had left them, and began to act over again all his mischievous tricks and miracles: the throwing down of the milk, and obstruction of the process of making the butter; afterwards the killing of Pek Assoor and Vetes Assoor. Then one made an image of the shape of the mountain Goverdhana by a cloth on a shalee, and another, tinging herself with the colour of Creeshna, held it up on her finger; and, in short, they had so heated their imaginations, that the trembling of a leaf made them look anxiously on all sides to see if Creeshna were not coming. In truth, so transported were they with grief and affection, that they no longer knew where they were or what they were doing. Creeshna at last took pity on the grief and despair of

* Alluding to the BAMUN Avatar.

the Gopias, and suddenly appeared among them, nor did they know which way he came. They first all offered him worship with flowers; then one took the lotos he had in his hand, and each of them took hold of both his hands, and all began to ask why he had left them, and all caressed him, expressing in different languages, actions, and attitudes, the same passion.

Creeshna having promised the Gopias that he would continue to them his kindness, they became elated with the happiness and elevation of the fourteen stages of the universe, and all rose up, and taking hold of his hands, began to dance. For the omnipotent Creator multiplied his form in proportion to the number of all the Gopias; and himself giving his hand to each of them, and taking the hand of each of them in his own hand, began to dance; so that each of them saw and believed that Creeshna was close to her side.—The Devatas, and Brahma, and Mahadeva, and all the rest, left their several stations, and, suspending their austerities, came thither as spectators, and presented all manner of flowers. In that agitation of the feet, and delicate motion of the limbs and waist, all the refinement of the Oriental dance was exhibited. The moisture of perspiration came on the cheeks of the Gopias, their hair was dishevelled, and their jetty tresses trembled over their necks, resembling black snakes feeding on the dew of the hyacinth. Each of the Gopias, as she became tired with dancing, taking hold of Creeshna's hand, sat down or stood up with her hand round his neck, and her hand leaning on his shoulder, in the most graceful and affectionate manner. On the ground where they had danced many flowers fell from the bosoms of the Gopias, and multitudes of bees, attracted by the fragrance, swarmed about them. The listener could not depart after once hearing the sound of the flute and the tinkling of the Gopias' feet; nor could the birds stir a wing; while the pupils of the Gopias' eyes, all turned towards Creeshna. In short, after a thousand sports, they went to bathe, and renewed

their caresses in the Jumna. The enjoyment of Creeshna with the Gopias, and of the Gopias with Creeshna, is a mystery, and cannot be described.*

One day, by Cansa's order, Breeksheb Assoor Ditya went to Bindreben in the form of an immense bull, his eyes inflamed with rage, his tail erected and bent over his head, his belly enormously distended, while his horns pierced the sky. Every moment fire flashed from his mouth, he tore up the earth as he walked along, and all animals fell down terrified at his bellowing. The inhabitants of the Ben, in this calamity, all called upon Creeshna, who, after comforting them, went towards the Ditya, and called to him at a distance, telling him that he knew him perfectly well under the disguise of a bull; that, if any disease tormented him, and made him thus frantic, he would cure him. Breeksheb, rejoicing to find so easily what he came for, ran towards him with intent at one plunge to toss him over the fourteen Dweepas: but Bhagavan seized both his horns with his two hands and threw him back eighteen steps; and thus for an hour together, as often as the bull made a push forwards, Creeshna threw him as much backwards; so that his strength being quite exhausted, and having lost his breath, he fell to the ground. Creeshna then, seizing him, violently twisted his neck round till the blood flowed from his mouth and nose, and his soul fled from his ponderous body. At this act the Devatas sung praises, and rained down flowers from heaven.

Cansa soon heard the sad news of the Ditya's death; and, at the same time, Nared came to Cansa, and said, "Know you not, O Cansa! that the slayer of so many Dityas and Rakshas, he who hath now killed your mighty champion Breeksheb Assoor, is the son of Vasudeva and Devaci, though reputed the son of Nanda and

* There is a print of this dance in Holwell. It is supposed to represent the circular dance of the PLANETS round the SUN, warmed by his influence, and guided by his ray.

Yasodha; that the girl, whom you dashed against the stones, supposing it the daughter of Devaci, was, in fact, the daughter of Yasodha, exchanged for a son; and that Ram is the real son of Vasudeva, born of Roheenee, who was detained in Gokul for fear of you. I told you what would happen at the time of Devaci's delivery, but you have not the controul of fate, nor can you change what heaven has decreed." Cansa was greatly alarmed at this speech of Nared, and felt his strength diminish within him. However, he put Vasudeva and Devaci again into prison, whom he had released, and, sending for Keishee, the chief of his Deos, with various arguments solicited him to go and kill Creeshna; and, after dismissing him, sent for Chandoor, and Mooshtek, and Seleb, and Selek, his guards and wrestlers, and said, "Ram and Creeshna, reputed sons of Nanda, but, in fact, sons of Vasudeva, will be invited hither on some pretence or other, and you must kill them in the way of your profession, for they are mere youths without strength, though to me, alas! as the angel of death. First, then, prepare a place for the assault, with a proper elevated seat for myself and my friends to behold it in safety; and let the inner gate be richly decorated and fortified, that my companions and viziers, and all the strongest of my guards, may keep ward there. And before that let there be another gate made, where Keel Assoor, the elephant-chief of all my elephants, must be stationed, that, when the lads come thither, he may dash them to pieces with his trunk and feet. Let there also be yet another gate made before these, where must be placed the strong bow, for the Dhanook Yug; and entrance must be denied to the lads there, unless they shall first bend that bow.' The boys, desirous to see the exhibition, will naturally endeavour to draw the bow, but it is not an affair for such striplings as they are, and then will be the time for my iron-fisted champions to dispatch them." After this, Cansa selected from among all his friends *Akroor*, whom, with blandishing speeches, and even the humblest entreaties, he besought to assist him in ac-

complishing the death of Ram and Creeshna; telling him that, as Eendra, by the aid of Veeshnu, subjected all the Devatas, so should he himself succeed by the help of Akroor. He urged him to use every artifice to induce Creeshna and Ram to come to Mathura; adding that, although it was his destiny to die by the eighth son of Devaci, yet still every animal was led by the natural fondness for life to exert himself to avert the stroke. He told them that the only means of salvation for him left was to get Creeshna, and Ram, and Nanda, and all the cow-herds, into his power; that he had provided various means for their destruction, first by the Dhanook Yug, then by Keel Assoor, the elephant, and, on failure of those means, by Chandoor and Mooshtek in wrestling. Then the tyrant exultingly exclaimed, "Yes, I will kill Vasudeva and Devaci; and afterwards my own father Ogur Sein, who is their protector, shall feel my vengeance, and my heart will be at ease. After this I shall enjoy a long-extended reign, and I will pay all respectful attention to Rajah Jarasandha, my patron and tutor, and to my other firm and tried friends. Bring hither, therefore, without delay, O Akroor! those whom I have doomed to destruction, but let my intentions be a profound secret. Your public pretence must be the bow and the wrestling. To see the conflict I will invite all the neighbouring chiefs, and the day of Creeshna's death shall be devoted to the joys of the banquet." Akroor was very little persuaded by Cansa's speech: but, after long silence, having apologized for his freedom, observed, "That Eendra, whose weapon was the bejere, and Ravan, who had holden death in chains, yet could not finally parry his inevitable dart. All must die, and it is natural to animals to struggle both with hand and foot when expiring, as you now do. Remember, from fate there is no escape; but I shall certainly obey your order." So Akroor went to his house, and Cansa retired to an apartment in his palace.

Previously to this, in conformity to Cansa's commands, Keishee, the Ditya, had arrived at Bindreben. He came in size like a moun-

tain, with fiery eyes, staring as if they would burst from their sockets. Keishee and Creeshna soon met, and at the first onset, Creeshna threw him backwards a bow-string's length with such violence, that he fell senseless to the earth: but, soon coming to himself, he ran open-mouthed at Creeshna, as if with an intent to swallow him alive. Creeshna instantly thrust his hand into his mouth; and, though Keishee with all his strength laboured to close his teeth, he was unable; while Creeshna's hand, by divine power, grew so enormous in length and breadth within his mouth, that it closed up the whole orifice. Thus stifled, he fell to the ground, became violently convulsed, his belly swelled up like an Indian gourd, and his soul fled from his body. The Devatas rained flowers from heaven, and all men shouted the praises of Creeshna.

Another day Creeshna and his companions played at Blindman's Buff. On that day Bhoom Assoor Ditya, coming thither, mixed himself in the play under the semblance of a child, and no one had any suspicion of the fraud. When the boys had all hid themselves to avoid the *blindman*, Bhoom stole them away one after the other, and concealed them in a cave of the mountain, so that few were left at the sport: then Creeshna began to perceive that there was some secret agency in the operation, and recognized that old wolf. Assuming himself, therefore, the form of a wolf, he seized him by the throat and threw him on the ground; and, although he quitted the child's form and assumed his own, Creeshna did not release him, but he gave up his life there. Creeshna then brought the boys from the place where he had concealed them, and asked them who had led them thither? they answered, one of themselves. The Devatas again rejoiced on that day, and the cow-herds, under Creeshna's protection, returned home in safety.—To return to Akroor: that herald, taking leave of Cansa, went to Bindreben to execute his commission; but, no sooner had he set out than he began to recount to himself the advantages he had acquired by the opportunity of enjoying Creeshna's presence, and, in a long soliloquy, expressed a full con-

fidence in Creeshna's divine nature and attributes; imagining himself to have obtained some extraordinary merits in a former life to be thus fortunate; and that, when he should fall at Creeshna's feet, that liberator from the *serpent of death* would lay his hand upon his head. Thus, in various reflections on Creeshna's mercy and his own unworthiness, did Akroor pass the time as he journeyed; and the sun delayed setting to hear his pious ejaculations; but, when Akroor arrived at Bindreben, that planet went down. Creeshna was then at the house of a Gopia at the milking of the cows; and Akroor, arriving at Nanda's court-yard, saw the mark of his divine foot, and recognized the Padma, and Chakra, and Geda, and Kemel. The Devatas, who had so often adored that spot, on beholding the fervour of Akroor's devotion and the purity of his faith, were stricken with shame. After the cows were milked, Creeshna came home with Ram, smiling like a lotos in bloom: yes, Creeshna, that beautiful personage, richly arrayed in garments of yellow and blue, with all the splendid insignia of a god, with long taper arms, and a string of flowers on his neck, at one moment calling one cow by its name, then another, and sometimes smiling on Akroor, glided easily along talking with the cow-boys. Akroor, on his approach, felt a paroxysm of agitation, and, at last, falling at his feet, with tears in his eyes, announced his name. Both Creeshna and Ram, knowing that he was of the elder branch of the Yadava family, would not suffer his prostrations, but lifted him up, and gave him a most cordial reception, and led him into the house; there they *washed his feet*, and then set victuals before him. When he was well refreshed, Nanda and Oope-Nanda inquired of him the state of affairs at Mathura, how Cansa's government flourished, and tidings of Vasudeva and Devaci; uttering, at the same time, the most bitter invectives against Cansa for the murder of his own sister's six children, and calling him the greatest of criminals.

Thus did Creeshna kindly receive Akroor, and thus did HE, who knows the hidden thoughts, fulfil Akroor's fondest expectations.

Creeshna next inquired the cause of his coming thither; telling him the Gopias and cow-boys would all laugh at the impropriety of his paying such submissive adorations to a little boy. Akroor, standing up with reverence, informed him of Nared's coming to Cansa after Keishee's death, and acquainting him that Creeshna was son of Vasudeva and Devaci; from which moment Cansa redoubled his desire of destroying him, and had sent him (Akroor) to bring by any means Creeshna and Ram before him. Creeshna smiled upon Ram, and then told Nanda, that, as Akroor was the head of the Yadava family, and was come by Cansa's order to invite him and Ram to Mathura, he was determined to go, and that Nanda and the rest of the Gopias should take their butter and cream and go also, for that it had long been his earnest wish to see Cansa. The news was soon spread through the Ben that Creeshna would go to Mathura, and it excited terror and astonishment in the mind of every Gopa and Gopia, and they all flocked to Nanda's house. The Gopias particularly exhibited all the symptoms of despair, and expressed themselves in the tenderest lamentations. That grief was so violent and that despair so extraordinary, that even Akroor forgot his mission to sympathize with them. The next morning, before the sun had put on his *crown of rays*, Creeshna and Ram mounted on a carriage with Akroor, and set off; Nanda, Oope-Nanda, and the other Gopas and cow-herds, placed their butter and cream on carriages and attended them, Akroor promising the Gopias that Creeshna would soon return to them again. *They* lost not sight of the carriage for a moment till distance rendered it completely invisible; then they watched the cloud of dust it raised, till even that was no longer to be seen; and all returned weeping and lamenting to their houses. Creeshna soon arrived at the bank of the Jumna, when Akroor got down to bathe. The moment he plunged in, he beheld Creeshna under the water; but, lifting up his head, he found him still on the bank where he had left him. Again he plunged, and again he beheld the very same august person both in the water and on the bank,

Astonishment seized him, and a kind of holy horror thrilled through his veins: he plunged several times more, but always the same objects presented themselves to his sight, till at last he knew not which was the real Creeshna, that without or that within the water. At length, looking more stedfastly at the latter, he beheld innumerable Devatas standing with their hands joined before that form in the water in praise and adoration. He saw also Balhadur in the water in a sky-blue robe, with a thousand heads, and a thousand plumes waving sublime on every head. He saw also, standing by him, more distinctly, the form of Creeshna, of a black colour, wearing a yellow robe, beautiful to behold, with ruby lips, his neck smooth as white coral, his arms very long and slender, his breast high and bold, his waist of elegant proportion, his legs beautiful beyond expression, his foot like the lotos-flower, and his nails red. He had a jewel of inestimable value in his crown, a Chowder round his waist, a Zennar upon his shoulder, a string of flowers round his neck, a splendid Koondel in his ear, the Kowstek Men on his arm, and the Shankhe, Chakra, Geda, and Kemel, in his hands; while Nanda, Oope-Nanda, and the whole tribe of Reyshees and Devatas, stood by him with their hands joined, uttering his praises. Akroor, completely engrossed by that form, joined also in the profoundest adorations; and, while Creeshna looked towards Ram and smiled, thus addressed the incarnate God: "O Bhagavan! men, brutes, and all other created beings, are formed of the three dispositions, the Sat, Raj, and Tama Goon, and those three are reflections of thy light. Thy essence is inscrutable, but its shadow is in all bodies, just like the image of the sun in vases of water: if the vases be broken, where is the image? and yet that image neither is increased nor diminished by the fracture of the vessels. In this manner thou art all in all. Thou art thyself numerous Avatars. Thy Hayagriva-Avatar killed Medhoo, the Ditya. On the back of the tortoise, in thy Courma-Avatar, did the Devatas place the solid orb of the earth; while, from the water of the sea, by the churning-staff of Mount Meru, they

obtained the immortal Amreeta of their desires. Hirinakassap, who had carried the earth down to Patal, did thy Varaha-Avatar slay, and bring up the earth on the boar's tusk: and Prahlaud, whom Hirinakassap tormented for his zeal towards thee, did thy Nara-Sing Avatar place in tranquillity. In thy Dwarf, or Bamun, Avatar, thou didst place Bali in the government of the mighty monarchy of Patal. Thou, too, art that Parasu Ram who cut down the entire Jungle, the residence of the Reyshees. And thou art Ram, the potent slayer of Ravan. O supreme Bhagavan! thou art the Buddha-Avatar who shalt tranquillize and give ease to Devâtas, human creatures, and Dityas. The Avatar of Kalci, when the infidels shall daily increase, is also thy Omnipotent Power, to thee I bow with reverence. To thy Almighty power the understanding of finite man cannot reach; well may it escape the sight of myself and other men, who are a prey to worldly desires, when the mightiest Devatas, Brahma and Seeva, are lost in astonishment. He who is freed from the bonds of prejudice and absorbed in thy light, is like a deer who knows not its own musk-bag, and yet is attracted every way by the scent of the musk; so he who is enamoured of thee knows thee not, and yet is intoxicated by the scent. O Natha! I, who know nothing, fly to thee for protection: do thou, who didst attract Nared and Ambereeke, shew mercy upon me also, and give me to see and know THEE."

After Akroor had thus expressed his praises, all that he had seen in the water became invisible, and he returned in admiration and astonishment out of the river. Creeshna asked him why he had so often looked towards him and then plunged again under the water, and why he seemed so amazed? "O Natha! sovereign Lord," he replied, "thou well knowest what I have seen in the water. Thy power fascinates all the world, and exhibits fictitious appearances every where, which mislead and blind the understanding. Ask me not the wonders I have beholden, but pity me, and take me, miserable as I am, under thine Almighty protection." Creeshna smiled,

and ordered the carriages to advance. Evening came on as they arrived near Mathura, and Akroor stopped the carriage in a retired place. Creeshna there told Akroor to go forward, and promised to follow him next morning; nor would he accept Akroor's pressing invitation to go to the residence of the latter, but he, and Ram, and Nanda, and the Gopas, all stayed on the spot the whole night. Early in the morning Creeshna looked towards the city, and there beheld it as a castle built of pure chrystal, the lofty doors formed of unwrought gold, jewels of the purest water engraved upon those doors, and the windows made of rubies and diamonds. Round the fortification was a deep ditch, and the suburbs were all filled with rows of warehouses, and innumerable parrots were perched on the domes and in the galleries, while thousands of majestic peacocks displayed their proud plumage at the doors, and enamoured doves were seen joyfully cooing with their delighted mates. The bazars and squares were free from dust and dirt, and the reflection from the walls, from the polish of the white stone, shone brilliantly upon the walls opposite. All the people at Mathura, who had before heard the wonders of Creeshna, stood waiting to see him with flowers and other presents; and, when Creeshna moved forwards into the city, they had set up trees of Kepeeleh before all the doors. The women left their work unfinished to run and gaze upon him, while Creeshna went on smiling and looking with ineffable sweetness. By the way he met the washerman* of Cansa with a quantity of his master's fine clothes, and he thought fit to ask him for some; but the washerman gave him a very rude answer, and told him, clothes made for a monarch would ill become a country clown like himself. Creeshna lifted up his hand, and with one blow struck the washerman's head off; and then taking what clothes he liked, and giving orders to Ram and all the Gopias, scattered the remainder about the street. At

* After the pompous description above, this may appear like descending to the bathos, but I cannot prevail on myself to erase it: washing was a princely employ in those days.

that time a tailor happened to be passing by, who, coming of his own accord to Creeshna, fitted on the clothes exactly to his body, and, for his good offices, was rewarded with eternal liberation. A little beyond was the house of Soodaman, the king's gardener, and Creeshna stopping at his door, the gardener came and offered him his choicest flowers and wreaths, which he had made for Cansa, in a most devout and submissive speech.

Creeshna then went forward, and, in their progress, they met a woman named Koobeja. Creeshna told the cow-herds to call to him that crooked deformed creature; but she good-naturedly refused to come, and asked what that straight comely person could want with such a crooked wretch as she was; however, they brought her by main strength. Creeshna said to Ram, " Behold the beauty of this divine creature, and yet greater beauty is still in her destiny." She had sandal and flowers in her hand, which Creeshna solicited, and demanded her name and occupation. She replied, " That, as the Creator had thought proper to bestow on her form three lumps, she as called Treebengee; that her cast was Serendheree, her employment to carry sandal and flowers to Cansa, and that it was time she should be at the palace." Though she said this, her heart was inwardly converted to Creeshna's faith, and she offered him her sandal and flowers. Creeshna took hold of her neck with one hand, placed two fingers of the other under her chin, and setting his foot upon her's, gently drew her towards him, and she became perfectly straight and handsome. Creeshna was then going on, but Koobeja caught hold of his robe, and said, " O Bhagavan! all animals are born with the three lumps of Sat, Raj, and Tama Goon*, from which nothing but thy favour can release them; now that thou hast made me straight and handsome from crooked and deformed, honour my house with thy presence, and exalt me above both worlds." Creeshna promised to come to her house after

* From this circumstance it seems clear that Koobeja is an allegorical personage.

he had seen Cansa, and then went on inquiring the way to Jegge Dhanook, or the place where the bow was to be bent; and, on his arrival there, he approached the Dhanook, and stooped to take up the bow. The keepers who were sitting there forbad him to touch it on peril of his life; they warned him that the strongest men could with great difficulty bend or even lift it; and, if he attempted to draw it and should fail, instant destruction was his doom. Creeshna lifted up the bow with the facility with which a straw might be elevated, and snapped it asunder at the first effort. The heavens and the earth shook at the noise that bow made in breaking, and the ears of the men in Patal and Swerga tingled at the sound Cansa, too, was extremely alarmed at the news of the bow having been broken. When Creeshna went forward, after breaking the bow, many mighty men and able warriors ran after him, crying, *Stop him! strike him down!* but no one interfered, and all men conceived he must be a Devata and not a man. With these events the day drew towards its close, and Creeshna with his companions rested there that evening, regaling on rice and milk. Cansa, in the mean time, having learnt what this despised youth had done, began seriously to feel his own inferiority; and, when he went to sleep, he dreamt that he saw himself without a head, and the moon divided into two parts; that several deep wounds were in his body, that he was accompanied by none but dead persons, that he was mounted on an ass, rubbed with oil, with his feet bound, and his body publicly exposed in a naked state. He started up, and found he had only had an ill-omened dream, but he could sleep no more! In the morning, with an oppressed heart, he came from his chamber, and ordered preparations for the assault to commence, and the athletics sounded to the combat with drums and hautboys. Chandoor and Mooshtek, with their pupils, began; Saleb, and Selek, and Seltek, sparred. The neighbouring rajahs who had been invited took their seats, and Cansa also ascended his throne.

Creeshna, early in the morning, prepared himself for the festival, and said to Ram, "I will wrestle with Chandoor, and Mooshtek shall feel your strength." But, when they came to the gate, they found a fierce elephant placed there to oppose them. Creeshna, fastening up all his hair together to the crest on his head, and, binding the vest that covered his shoulders fast round his waist, told the elephant-driver to make room or he must perish; but the driver urged on the beast with fury to attack him; and this was Cansa's best elephant. No elephant like him was to be found, he was therefore reserved for some desperate extremity; and the driver goading him forward with all his might, that black mountain, roaring like thunder, sprang forward with the celerity of the wind, and caught Bhagavan in his trunk. But Creeshna soon disengaged himself, and was sometimes under his feet and sometimes between his teeth. Now he would run away and the elephant after him, then he would seize him by the tail and drive him a long way before him, nor could the elephant, by all his exertions and dashing round his proboscis, ever strike him. At length the beast grew fatigued, and his breath failed; Creeshna then, without much effort, threw him to the ground, and, tearing out his enormous tusks, armed himself with one and Ram with the other. The men of Mathura were equally pleased and amazed at the success of this unequal combat; and augured thence that Cansa himself would soon meet the death he had destined for this brave youth. The elephant's blood was largely sprinkled on Creeshna's clothes, and the two brothers paraded majestically along with the elephant's teeth on their shoulders, while the sweat shone on their faces like dew-drops on a lotos. When they had passed the gate, Chandoor and Mooshtek beheld them at a distance; and, though they appeared of such diminutive size, yet it was evident to those champions that there would be no small difficulty in conquering them. Cansa, too, saw them at a distance, and a horrible dread came upon him, and he trembled exceedingly, and would gladly have left the place; but what refuge is there from

the stern decree of destiny? besides, the shame of disgracing himself before all the assembly retained him in his seat. The rajahs of the countries round, who were sitting near his throne, were all struck with joy at seeing Creeshna: they could not be satisfied with looking at him, and concluded for a certainty that he was an Avatar of Bhagavan from the miracles they had heard ascribed to him. Chandoor then came near to Creeshna, and said, "That, as a servant's duty was to obey his master, although his life was at stake, that, by order of Cansa, he was to oppose him, if he chose to risk a combat." Creeshna admitted the fact of Chandoor's duty to his master, and that, though a youth, as he had frequently sparred with his own companions the cow-herds, he was now ready to spar with him. Chandoor told him to exert his utmost prowess, for that he would find it very difficult to escape from his hands.

Chandoor then began to wrestle with Creeshna, and, in the same manner, Mooshtek with Ram, hand to hand, head to head, breast to breast, chin to chin, arm to arm, and foot to foot. Creeshna, though his body appeared softer than a lotos, gave it the resistance of adamant; and Chandoor and Mooshtek, who had so often conquered the strongest athletics, were now forced to feel that these two youths were more than a match for them, nor could they divine by what arts they might be overcome. But the spectators were all enraged at Cansa's injustice and cruelty to suffer a conflict between combatants apparently so unequal. Chandoor, in despair, finding that his strength did not avail, attempted to make use of artifice; but Creeshna disappointed all his efforts, fair and unfair, and it is certain that Chandoor and Mooshtek must in a former life have been sincere devotees, for this very contact and communication with Bhagavan is a blessing that Brahma and Roodra are on fire to obtain. Creeshna and Ram determined within themselves that they would slay Cansa that same day. In the mean time, Vasudeva and Devaci, still lingering in prison, were incessant in their supplications to the Supreme Being to protect and prosper their child. And now

Creeshna took Chandoor's hand under his own arm and broke the hand-bones, so that his antagonist ran distractedly about in the most violent pain. Soon, however, collecting together all his force, he doubled his fist and struck it at Creeshna's breast, but it made no impression. Creeshna then took hold of his two hands, and, swinging him round his head, dashed him to the ground in such a manner, that, at the same instant, *the bird of his soul flew from the cage of his body and perched on the bough of liberation.* Thus did Creeshna slay Chandoor as a child crushes an ant. Ram dispatched Mooshtek in the same manner; who, when he fell to the ground, trembled exceedingly, while the blood gushed from his nose and mouth. After this bloody victory Creeshna began to dance with Ram and the cow-herds, and mitigated their apprehensions. All men, except Cansa, rejoiced at the death of these champions, and their exclamations of joy came most unpleasantly to Cansa's ear; who, frowning revenge upon them for this their satisfaction, ordered his companions to omit no means whatever to kill the son of Nanda, and Nanda himself, as well as Vasudeva and Devaci, and Ogur Sein also, for protecting them. While Cansa was in the very act of speaking, Creeshna rushed upon him. The tyrant's presence of mind and resolution instantly failed him; he looked wildly and in amaze at Creeshna; and, though he had a drawn sword in his hand, and a bow and arrows before him, he remained in a state of stupefaction, without attempting to use them. Creeshna, with one spurn of his foot, dashed the refulgent crown of Mathura from his head, and then dragged him down from the Musnud by his hair, in spite of all his struggles and vigorous resistance both with hands and feet. Creeshna drew him in this manner a long way by the hair of his head; and, while prostrate and terrified he was thus dragging along, his soul became liberated of the three worlds; for, during his whole life, whether sleeping or waking, in motion or at rest, he never for a moment could refrain from thinking of his destroyer; and, at the moment of his death, he had the beatific vision of his celestial

antagonist, with the Geda, and Kemel, and Chakra, and Shankhe. Cansa had twenty brothers, who, in fraternal affection, ran after Creeshna to revenge his death; but Ram, observing them in pursuit, took up the Kel and Moosel, which are his proper weapons, and slew them all at one blow. Cansa's wife and the wives of his brothers now began to make the most bitter and heart-piercing lamentations. Creeshna pitied them, and advised them not to repine at the unavoidable decrees of fate. Creeshna then went on to the place where Vasudeva and Devaci were confined, and fell at his father's and mother's feet, in spite of all their endeavours to raise him, and said, "O father! be happy in the life of that son for whose sake his earthly parents have suffered such infinite distress and danger." At that moment Vasudeva and Devaci knew him for the Creator, and burst out into prayers and praises.

Maurice, Printer, Fenchurch-street.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

To answer the urgent and reiterated demand for this last portion of the ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY, of which a considerable less number was printed than of the former parts, the Author has at length been prevailed upon, though at a very heavy expence, to remedy the deficiency by reprinting it.

Of the collective work, having been nearly ***twenty years*** out of print, he would, also, have been happy to have given a new edition; but the charge to an unaided individual would have been ruinous, and it must, therefore, still remain among the ***desiderata*** of Ancient Indian Literature. Instead of the ***third part***, it is here entitled the THIRD VOLUME, to which its magnitude lays claim, and any future edition cannot be comprized in less than THREE VOLUMES.

British Museum, 1st January, **1819.**

PREFACE TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE farther the reader proceeds in the Life of the Eight Avatar, the more he must be convinced of the absurdity and impiety of the comparison, which has been so insidiously attempted to be made by M. Volney, between the Christian and the Indian *Preserver*. As he has already, in the two introductory chapters, been sufficiently prepared to form a proper judgment on the subject of Creeshna, I have permitted the sportive young deity to continue acting his romantic exploits on the plains of Mathura; only throwing an occasional veil over the more licentious parts of the conduct of this Apollo Nomius of India, whose amours are certainly not less numerous than those of the Greek; of whom, in many respects, he appears to have been the studied exemplar.

It cannot be denied, however, that, amidst all this licentiousness which the Brahmins, in fact, are anxious to explain away, as if the whole were a sublime allegory, resembling the Greek story of the loves of CUPID and PSYCHE, there often issue from the lips of Creeshna maxims and precepts worthy of a deity; while many of the apologues, occasionally introduced into it, impress the noblest lessons of piety and philanthropy. Among these may be enumerated, Akroor's noble apostrophe to Creeshna, while bathing; Odhoo's instructive theological discourse with Nanda; his subsequent sublime address to Ram; the impressive relation intended to inculcate the omnipresence of God, which represents the prophet Nared visiting the golden palace of Creeshna, in Dwaraka, and ranging its spacious apartments in search of its Lord, whom he finds absent from no part of it; and the powerful dissuasive against

the baneful effects of INEBRIETY, by which a whole race becomes exterminated, towards the conclusion: these, with many other weighty moral truths and affecting observations, interspersed throughout the work, will, it is hoped, make the reader amends for much puerility blended with them, and the magical machinery, so congenial with the practice of remote and barbarous ages. For the style being sometimes less accurate and elegant than I could wish, the only apology in my power to make is that first offered, viz. that the Life of Creeshna, is in great part, a literal translation from the SRI BHAGAVAT, by Mr. Halhed, preserved among his MSS. in the BRITISH MUSEUM, and not originally intended for the public eye.

The two remaining Avatars will be found, I trust, detailed and explained to the complete satisfaction, at least, of that numerous class of my readers, who do not think the theological disquisition the least important portion of this historical retrospect on the most ancient events transacted on the great theatre of Asia, events which carry us back so near to the æra of the venerable patriarchs. To that respectable, but less numerous, class of my readers, who, less ardent for theological research, seek for historic truth amidst the darkness of those early ages, I flatter myself the final portion of this volume, which discusses the connection of the Tartars, Persians, and early Greeks, with the Indians, will not be wholly unsatisfactory: they will candidly remember the remoteness of the æra, and the scanty materials yet in our possession for the full investigation of events then transacted. When more ample materials shall have been discovered, with adequate encouragement I shall not be reluctant to resume the investigation; and, since all theological discussion is now finally terminated, to present the public with a volume of *purely historical fact*, relating to the invasions of India by Greek, Persian, and Mohammedan, conquerors,

down to the death of Aurungzeb in the present century. A considerable part of this vast and interesting history has been long written by me, but disquisitions thought by my friends more important have superseded its appearance. The event has justified their advice; and the learned reader who may have perused the ingenious and elaborate, but dangerous, work of M. Dupuis, on the *Origin of all Religions*, alluded to in the preface to the former part, a work comprised in three large quarto volumes, with two additional volumes of plates, illustrative of his chimæras, must be convinced of the necessity which existed of the previous appearance of a work like mine; however inferior in point of execution. He will there see with what determined hostility the noble science of ASTRONOMY, which I have endeavoured to render subservient to the cause of Christianity, has been employed on the Continent to *subvert*, and, if possible, to *eradicate* it from the earth.

For denominating, as I have done, in the subsequent pages, the Indian prince, who most vigorously opposed Alexander, PAURAVA, I beg permission to produce the authority of Sir William Jones, in a letter addressed to me, from Bengal, on my first making known to him my intention of commencing this History, and soliciting his support and patronage in India. As it is not long, I insert it unabridged, except in that part which confided to me the opinion which I ought to entertain, but which I shall never divulge, of certain persons who have not since proved the most zealous friends to my literary labours. Yet have those labours succeeded beyond my utmost hope, and persevering exertions have at length trampled upon every difficulty.

Chrisha-Nagar, 10*th October*, 1790.

Dear Sir,

It is not possible for me to forget the pleasure which I have received from your conversation, and the opinion which I always entertained of your parts and industry. The arduous undertaking, of which I have just perused the plan, fully justifies my opinion; but I am so oppressed with a heavy arrear of business, that I cannot write at large on the subject of it. I will desire my agent in London to subscribe for me, and will do all I can to promote the subscription here. Such is the expense of printing at Calcutta, that it would cost thirty pounds sterling to reprint the pamphlet; but the proposals shall be reprinted, and carefully circulated. I am confident that you might learn Persian in six months, (if you have not learned it already,) so well at least as to read the original text of Ferishtah, whose work, with submission, is very *highly esteemed* by all learned Indians and Indian scholars. To an historian I must express every truth, even though friendship might induce me to conceal it; * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. Let me, at the same time, exhort you not wholly to rely on *my* authority; for, though I have diligently avoided errors, yet I have made many: for instance, *Por*, a word which I found for *Porus* in the Shah-Nameh, is, I now find, pronounced *Pur*, or *Poor*, by the native Persians; and I have reason to believe, from Sanscrit authorities, that the true name of that prince was PAURAVA. If you read Persian, Mr. Boughton Rouse will, I dare say, lend you the *Modern History of India*, by Gholam Husain. Farewell, my Dear Sir, and believe me to be, with great regard,

Your ever faithful humble Servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

Rev. Thomas Maurice.

THE LIFE OF CREESHNA, THE EIGHTH *INDIAN AVATAR*, FROM THE BHAGAVAT POORAUN.

PART THE SECOND.

DETAILING THE EXPLOITS OF CREESHNA, AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF CANSA, TO THE DEATH OF JARASANDHA.

THE LIFE OF CREESHNA.

PART THE SECOND.

WHEN Creeshna found that the eyes of Vasudeva and Devaci were opened to his real character, as Perebrahme, or Universal Lord, while there still remained so much to be performed by him on that earth, which, as an Avatar, he had condescended to visit, he again plunged them into forgetfulness. In consequence, they once more thought him their son, and beheld him and Ram standing before them in a posture of the utmost respect. Creeshna now began to bewail aloud the many evils to which they had been exposed on his account: he lamented that they had not even enjoyed the common gratification of parents in the company of their own children, the care of their education having fallen to the lot of Nanda and Yasodha. "Formerly," says he, "when men were infinitely more long-lived, their whole existence on earth was passed in the service of their parents; and now life is so short, your maternal comforts, O Devaci! have been, to my shame and regret, abridged of that little, but I hope to obtain forgiveness from parental commiseration." Thus did Ram and Creeshna comfort Vasudeva and Devaci, who most heartily rejoiced in the sight of their children, insomuch that even the milk started from the breast of Devaci, throbbing with transport. After this, the crown of the city and kingdom of Mathura was placed on the head of Ogur Sein, to

whom, by right, it belonged; when Creeshna thus addressed him: "O rajah! do not refuse the government from the hands of a youthful destroyer of an usurper. May your reign be long and fortunate, and all rebellion and faction be for ever crushed! Be assured, that those of the tribe of the Yadavas, who have left Mathura through the oppressions of Cansa, will all speedily return. Govern them with wisdom, and do not increase the tribute beyond that of former times, nor delight, like Cansa, in aggrieving thy subjects." From that very day, Oogur Sein took upon himself the government of Mathura, and, by Creeshna's aid, his reign prospered exceedingly. Wherever Creeshna resides, prosperity must necessarily ensue; thus it was, while he abode in Gokul and Bindreben as the son of Nanda and Yasodha, and when he had cleansed Mathura from the filth of injustice and oppression, his parents Vasudeva and Devaci became most happy and exalted in their new-found progeny. One day Creeshna sent for Nanda and Oope-Nanda, and all the Gopas, or shepherds, and cow-herds, and, in a posture of reverence, presented Nanda with his and Ram's thanks for all the favours bestowed on them by him and Yasodha; more, in fact, than could have been expected from natural parents, and then told him that it was necessary that *he* (Nanda) should go to Bindreben to console Yasodha and the Gopias, or shepherdesses. He then gave Nanda mighty presents in money and goods, and dismissed him with the other Gopas, who all returned to Bindreben in tears. Soon after, Vasudeva and Devaci, in council with the heads of the family and wisest of their Zennardars, reflecting that they had not hitherto been able to give Ram and Creeshna an education suitable to Khettris, and, according to the rites of the rajah tribe, desired that the Zennar might be duly conferred on them, and the ceremonies of the nuptial festival were now performed in a fortunate hour; they were bathed in the holiest waters, and were taught the Proheete

and Gayatree, and invested with the Zennar. On that day, innumerable cows and vast quantities of gold were given away. Vasudeva then sought for a complete tutor for his sons; and, having heard of a famous Zennardar in Avengtee, he determined to send Ram and Creeshna thither. They went accordingly to Avengtee, and entered into the discipline of the tutor, and, by their extreme attention, so rivetted the esteem of Sendeepen, that he presently taught them the whole science of the Vedas. Although, to save appearances, they staid some time in Avengtee as his pupils, yet, in fact, Creeshna learnt all the sciences in one day and night, and perfectly knew all the sixty-four Kela, to the great joy and equal astonishment of Sendeepen, who had been used to see his pupils employ months and years upon only one book. Creeshna, after acknowledging his obligations to Sendeepen, desired him to demand what he wished for most, as his tutor's fee. Sendeepen begged leave to consult his wife before he determined on his request. The wife entreated, that, if it were possible to raise her two sons to life, that might be the boon bestowed. Sendeepen accordingly requested of Creeshna to restore his two dead sons. Creeshna said it should be done; and then, with Ram, went to the sea-shore, when the Sea, assuming a human shape, came before him, and most submissively asked his pleasure. Creeshna demanded the two sons of Sendeepen. The Deep replied, he had them not; but, if Creeshna commanded, he would demand them of PANCHAJANYA, the great Shankhe, or shell-fish, who was in his belly. Creeshna immediately leaped into the sea himself, and, seizing the Shankhe, tore it open. When he found them not there, he brought the Shankhe up with him for the purpose of using it as a trumpet, and going thence to the abode of Dherme Rajah, the god of justice, or Pluto, he there sounded the Shankhe. Dherme Rajah immediately appeared, and, making most profound sub-

missions, entreated to know his commands. Creeshna demanded, as before, the two sons of his tutor Sendeepen; and, by this command of Perebrahme, these two young men became alive again, and Dherme Rajah presented them to Creeshna, who, with Ram, immediately took them to Sendeepen, and, presenting them to him, said, "O Gooroo! demand of us something yet more, for our wish is to serve thee." But Sendeepen answered, "O Ram and Creeshna! I am delighted with you to the soul; nor have I more to ask, but receive at least my blessing; and may the sciences you have learned of me remain for ever fresh in your memories!" Creeshna and Ram then taking leave of their tutor set off from Avengtee, and soon came to Mathura, and the people there received them like lost wealth restored.

Creeshna having, as we have seen, thus rapidly learnt the whole circle of sciences from Sendeepen, and being returned to Mathura, on a certain day called to him his kinsman Oodhoo, and, taking him aside, requested of him to go to Bindreben, and bear his salutations to Yasodha and all the Gopas, and particularly to the Gopias whom, most of all, his absence grievously afflicted; announce to them his intended return the instant his affairs permitted, and, in the mean time, until they could obtain his personal presence, to exhort them to be constantly employed in Yug, which is his spiritual presence. Oodhoo, having accordingly received Creeshna's instructions, set out for Bindreben on the following morning, and arrived the same evening. He found all the Gopas and Gopias sitting in a melancholy attitude, and meditating on Creeshna; the Zennardars at prayer, and the secular persons engaged in charity and other pious works, to obtain his presence. Nanda carried Oodhoo to his own house, and there refreshing him after his journey, anxiously asked him the news of Creeshna, of Mathura, of Vasudeva, and Devaci, and whether Creeshna meant to keep his

former promise of coming to see them. In short, he became extremely garrulous, running over all Creeshna's miracles while a little boy, and declaring, that, from what Garga had told him, he knew Creeshna to be Bhagavan, Perebrahme, Pooran-Pooroosh, who was born for the protection of Devatas and Zennardars, and the relief of the oppressed; as was clear from the destruction of Cansa, who had the strength of a thousand drunken elephants; and of Keishee Assoor, who was also strong as a thousand elephants; and from his breaking the bow, which was beyond the power of man. Yasodha then took her turn to speak, and said, she thought it very hard, that when Creeshna was little, he permitted Nanda and Yasodha to be called his parents; but now Devaci was become Nanda, and Creeshna was called Vasudeva: still, however, from having had the care of Creeshna's infancy, she thought her prerogatives greater than those of Devaci. Oodhoo silenced them, by saying, that whoever is constantly night and day thinking of Creeshna becomes exalted above all the three worlds; and that it is pronounced in the Vedas and Smreete, that whosoever, at the time of expiring, shall retain Creeshna in his remembrance, he will infallibly become Peremookte, or thrice-blessed; that Nanda and Yasodha were at the pinnacle of their desires, and that he knew even them to be Avatars of Devatas. Nanda again earnestly demanded if Creeshna would keep his promise in returning to Bindreben? And Oodhoo replied, that Perebrahme was at all times present every where, just as fire, though concealed, is always present in wood: that it was not for a moment admissible, that, because he now called Vasudeva and Devaci his parents, he should forget Nanda and Yasodha; for that the Preserver of the world has no parents, nor can be called the particular *parent* of any one, but is Creator of the universe. In the state of his present existence he is to be considered as an Avatar, like that of Matsya, Kourma,

Varaha, Nara-Sing, and others, which are all emanations of that tremendous power who is at once the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, of all things. "We short-sighted men," exclaims Oodhoo, "resemble a child, who, having turned round till he is giddy, thinks the heavens and earth also turn round with him, and does not consider that the rotatory motion is all in his own brain. Thus, O Nanda! are we bewildered in prejudices, thus are we grown giddy with pride, and know not the Creator. Now, therefore, O Yasodha! think no more of Creeshna as your son, but as a being who is father, child, husband, wife, brother, and whatever you can think of that is dear among human beings, all centring in one object, and without that object there is nothing!" Thus did Oodhoo pass the whole night in discourse with Nanda and Yasodha; and, at sun-rise, next morning went to bathe in the Jumna, dressed in a shining robe set with lovely jewels. As he drove along in his splendid carriage, in all houses which he passed, he heard the inhabitants at their different employments singing the miracles of Creeshna. He beheld all the Gopias in profound affliction for his absence; and, as most of them were ignorant of Oodhoo's arrival, they said to each other, "Ah! there is Akroor's carriage! he is returned; but, if Cansa had lived, he would have been devoted to instant destruction." Another supposed Creeshna had sent some other herald to inquire after them. A third observed that Creeshna had now other affairs to mind than to send after *them;* while a fourth insisted that Creeshna did most certainly recollect them. Innumerable discourses of this kind met the ears of Oodhoo, all the result of affection and grief; and he was astonished at the universality of the theme.

By the time Oodhoo returned from the water, the Gopias had learned that some one on the part of the Yadavas was arrived, but it was not Creeshna, and they all hurried to Nanda's house to learn

news from Mathura.[s] A sense of modesty, added to intense grief on account of Creeshna's absence, kept them for some time silent, but at length they broke silence, and overwhelmed Oodhoo with the multiplicity of their inquiries. Oodhoo, after many panegyrics on their fidelity, delivered Creeshna's message to them, desiring them not to mourn his absence, for, that there was no absence where there was mental *union*, as was the case between him and them. "Therefore, O Gopias! betake yourselves to Yug, or devotion; for that is the point at which no such thing as absence takes place." The Gopias, on hearing this, said to Oodhoo, "What manner of conduct is this, or what justice does Creeshna use, to give *Yug* (mental union) to us, and *Bhook* (corporeal union) to the women of Mathura? Alas! there is no mention made of *us* in Creeshna's assemblies? Does he ever recollect that night in which we forsook our husbands and children to share his beloved embrace? Will he ever mitigate the torments of separation which we now suffer? As for ourselves, we do not for a single moment forget those nights wherein we obtained our hearts desire, and surely, O Oodhoo! you will not fail to tell Creeshna of our inexpressible misery." Oodhoo stayed some months in Bindreben, to console and comfort the Gopias, and satisfied them greatly by again and again repeating the words of Creeshna, insomuch, that, to the people of Bindreben, his stay appeared but for a moment. Transported with passion, they shewed Oodhoo the places in the wood and by the water-side where they had tasted happiness with Creeshna. Oodhoo was infinitely pleased with their constancy, and assured them, in his turn, that Creeshna never had so much love and attachment to Lakshma, whose pure body is all one fragrance, and the bedam (almond) beneath whose foot for ever blows, as for them: that Lakshma had never known, even in a *dream*, that entire satisfaction which they had enjoyed with him *awake*: that, for himself, he only wished God

would make him one of the happy Gopias; and, that, as Creeshna was to him a deity, so he esteemed them also to be Devatas; for, that they were never separated from that sublime *Pooran-Pooroosh*: And now Oodhoo, with difficulty, obtaining leave to return to Mathura, Nanda, Yasodha, and all the Gopas and Gopias, sent separately their congratulations to Creeshna by Oodhoo, who, as soon as he arrived at that city, delivered an account of his mission; of the exact state in which he had left Nanda, Yasodha, and the Gopias, and presented the congratulations of each separately by name. Creeshna was not insensible to these tokens of their regard; for, on hearing the report, his eyes were moistened with tears of sympathy, and he resolved to seize the first opportunity of revisiting the scene where his childhood and youth had been so delightfully passed.

Creeshna recollecting that he had promised Koobeja a visit, in pursuance of that promise he one day went to her house, accompanied by Oodhoo. Koobeja was overjoyed, and, with her own hands, presented him the clothes, jewels, necklaces, betel, and sweetmeats, which she had prepared for the occasion. Oodhoo was greatly amazed at her beauty; but she, with a conscious shame, beheld Oodhoo as an intruder, for Creeshna was the idol of her heart. Creeshna, observing the ardency of her passion, took hold of her hand, and, gently drawing her towards him, placed her by his side, and she was made happy as a Yogee is by the completion of his Yug. What the devotee and the penitent often seek in vain (union with Deity) Koobeja easily obtained, and she persuaded Creeshna to stay some days at her house. Some time after, he went, according to promise, to Akroor's house with Ram, where his reception was equally warm and respectful. Akroor made him a most devout and submissive speech, and prophecied that he should slay the army of eighteen Kshoonees (or Kshouheenees) now he had

assumed the full splendor of his Avatar for lightening the burthen of the earth Creeshna answered him with great tenderness and respect, as head of the Yadava family, and requested as a favour of him that he would go to Hastanapoor to bring certain intelligence of the state of affairs at that capital, where he had heard that, after Rajah Pandoo's death, Doorjoodhen oppressed his five cousins; Judishter, that ocean of modesty and tenderness; Bheema, strong as the mountain Sumeru; Arjoon, the famous bowman; Nacul, renowned for his beauty; and Sahadeva, the wise and penetrative; in short, that he looked with an eye of extreme jealousy and ill-will on all the Pandoos.

Akroor, exceedingly happy at this commission, chose a fortunate moment for his journey, and went to Hastanapoor. There he first respectfully visited Bheekheem, and Dhreetrarashtra, and Doorjoodhen, and his brothers. He then went to the abode of the Pandoos, where he paid the profoundest reverence to Koontee, and severally embraced Judishter and his brothers, and made a proper obeisance to Dropeda, their sister, endeavouring by every means in his power to comfort the Pandoos. For the purpose of learning a true state of affairs, Akroor stayed some months at Hastanapoor; but, such was the general fear of Doorjoodhen, that no one ventured to tell him the truth. At last, Koontee had a private interview with him, and at that interview informed him of the secret of Dhreetrarashta's weakness and Doorjoodhen's jealousy of the Pandoos, who were every where well spoken of, but against whom his fury had risen to such a height, that he had some time before presumed to put a venomous snake into their victuals and poison into their water. Koontee pleaded to him her near affinity with Creeshna, as sister to Vasudeva, and sent a message to Creeshna, complaining that Doorjoodhen, like some fatal eclipse of the sun and moon, obstructed the rising glory of her sons, and imploring his assistance,

since she herself and all her family placed their reliance solely on Bhagavan. Akroor comforted her as well as he could, and took an early opportunity of remonstrating with Dhreetrarashtra on the glaring injustice of his own and Doorjoodhen's proceedings. Dhreetrarashtra answered, that he felt the force of Akroor's arguments, but that his heart was blackened by the intense affection which he bore his children, and could not assume the colour of his good advice, which, like lightning, had, for a single moment, flashed upon the obscurity of his mind; that he knew, however, Bhagavan had been born for the purpose of relieving the burthens of the earth, and for the protection of his friends, and paid him all due reverence. Akroor, after having given his advice to Dhreetrarashtra, and hearing his answer, took leave of him, and Koontee, and the Pandoos, and returned to Mathura.

Akroor, on his arrival from Hastanapoor, communicated all he had heard to Creeshna, and immediately that all-wise Being resolved within his mind what should be done. Now the two wives of Cansa, Asep and Peranet, daughters of Rajah Jarasandha, monarch of the kingdom of Maghada, had continued in a state of the most profound grief ever since the death of their husband, and went weeping and wailing to their father. Jarasandha was exceedingly grieved at the intelligence, and, being moved with extreme pity for his daughters, swore an oath and performed sacrifice, that, if he did not slay every one of the Yadavas in revenge for the death of his son-in-law, the guilt of the murder of Cansa should lie upon him. Accordingly he levied an army of three Kshouheenees,*

* This is the word which often occurs written in Mr. Halhed's manuscript; but, in Ferishta, it is written COHEEN, and is there said to be a military body, "consisting of twenty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy elephants of war, an equal number of chariots, six thousand six hundred and ten horsemen, and one hundred and nine thousand three hundred and fifty foot!!!" *Credat Judæus.*

and set out for Mathura. Creeshna on hearing it, said to Ram, that, as he was come for the purpose of lightening the burthens of the earth and punishing the wicked, he would slay Jarasandha, but not at that time, having other affairs to transact of more immediate importance. In the mean time, there descended from heaven two carriages, the shining of whose jewellery was like the splendor of the stars, and in each carriage was a collection of various kinds of arms. Creeshna looked towards Ram, and asked his advice, as they two were the only protectors of the Yadavas, and as it was necessary to lighten the overburthened earth of Jarasandha's army. Creeshna then ascended one of the carriages, and made Dareke his driver, while Ram mounted the other carriage. Taking with him a few chosen troops, Creeshna sounded the dreadful shell Panchajanya, whose roar re-echoed from earth to heaven, and both went to meet Jarasandha, whose army was affrighted and confounded with the sound of that wonderful instrument. But Jarasandha himself, advancing before his army to the sound of trumpets and clarions, exclaimed, "O Creeshna! it is improper for me to meet you in battle, since I know you to be invincible by any hostile weapon of mine. How, therefore, can I possibly, on any equal ground, engage with you, since the very attempt to combat with an Avatar must infallibly draw down upon me a severe and just punishment. I will fight Balhadur. Now, therefore, O Balhadur! take care; for, with a single arrow, I shall dispatch your mighty spirit to Deva Loke." Creeshna desired Jarasandha not to praise himself, as he and Ram knew not each others strength; and wherefore did he glory, since his relation Cansa had just obtained the merited fruits of his baseness?. Jarasandha now became violently enraged, and overwhelmed Creeshna and Ram with a shower of arrows, like the sun in a cloud. The women of Mathura stood on their balconies anxious spectators of the battle: when Creeshna was

obscured by arrows, they were oppressed with grief, but rejoiced exceedingly when by the flash they beheld the standard on which was the figure of Garoor. Jarasandha exhausted all his strength, and that of his army to no purpose; he could by no means obtain the victory. Creeshna then strung the all-conquering bow, and, drawing it, shot one arrow. With the stroke of that one arrow all the chariots, with the chiefs they bore, and the elephant-drivers, and their horses, with their riders, and the infantry, were all discomfited and slain. The blood streamed from the heads of elephants like rivers of red water from the mountains in the rainy season; the carriages were dashed about like ruined houses: the light of the standards was like the wood of a burning jungle; and there was a sea of blood flowing around, in which the heads of young warriors floated, while the jewels on their plumes resembled the shining of the sands, and the noble victims expiring, exclaimed aloud, Jeye! Jeye! Those that excaped, fled in the utmost trepidation; but Ram pursued them, and with his Moosel, (mace) pounded to atoms all the bones of his adversaries. When Jarasandha alone remained alive, Ram seized him as a lion seizes a kid, and was going to strangle him; but Creeshna took hold of Ram's hand and prevented him, saying, that he himself would slay Jarasandha hereafter, when other more weighty affairs were finished. So they left Jarasandha at liberty, and returned to Mathura, where great rejoicings were made, and the Devatas rained flowers from the sky. Thus did Creeshna return triumphant into Mathura; and Jarasandha, defeated and ashamed, went alone to his own kingdom, resolving, as he journeyed, that he would immediately commence most severe austerities, and by that means acquire the power of taking Creeshna and completing his revenge. As he went along, some of the neighbouring rajahs, his allies, comforted him; reminding him that conquest and defeat were accidents; that it was the

business of recluses to pray and mortify, and that of a monarch to fight. Stimulated by these and similar expressions, Jarasandha went into his own country, again levied a mighty army, and, in pursuit of the determined revenge he had vowed, came seventeen times more to Mathura with so powerful a force, that no human efforts seemed able to oppose it; but he was each time defeated by the Giver of Victory, and fled each time with precipitation. On the eighteenth attack be brought, to assist him in its reduction, Kalee-Jeven: at which time Nared came to the latter, and acquainted him with Creeshna's delightful colour and fine dress, and all the marks and celestial appurtenances of the divine Bhagavan. This last time, when Kalee-Jeven came to Jarasandha's assistance, he took an army of three Crores of his own with him, and with that force came to Mathura and invested the city. Creeshna, on this, said to Ram, "O brother! since the Yadavas suffer extreme hardships on my account, this time I will kill Kalee-Jeven, and afterwards Jarasandha: but, as the men of Mathura are so dispirited and alarmed, I am resolved to relieve their apprehensions, and to place them in a state of security while you and I are employed in battle." On that same day he commanded Vesookerma to found a city in the midst of the sea; and in obedience to his commands, a city was instantly built all resplendent with jewels. In it were to be seen bazars with beautiful shops richly decorated, and gardens adorned with the trees Pareejatek, the houses shining with chrystal, the stables for horses composed of iron and silver, golden vases over the door of every house, and innumerable temples, whence clouds of incence perpetually ascended. In one moment every thing was ready, and now Bhagavan took all the living creatures of Mathura and carried them thither as a Yogee enwrapt in his Yug. Having thus placed *them* in security, he advanced, together with Ram, to give battle to the invader.

While Creeshna pressed forward to meet the enemy's army, Kalee-Jevan recollected the description given him by Nared, viz. Narayen, with the Kemel, and Chacra, and Geda, and Shankhe, in his hand, and rejoiced when he saw these signs that he should take this conqueror, shining like the sun. Kalee-Jevan ignorantly presumed to hope that he should take Bhagavan, whom even the Yogee by Yug, and the devotee by devotion, and the penitent by mortifications, cannot reach. Shree-Bhagavan now advanced; but, having formed his resolve in respect to the rajah, fled from him. Kalee-Jeven pursued him with celerity, telling him all the time it was unworthy of one, who called himself a Khettree, to flee; and that certainly he would bring shame on Vasudeva, and lose all the renown he had already acquired. At length Bhagavan came to a wood where the Reyshee Metsye Gundhe was sleeping; on whom he threw his robe, and retired into the thicket. Kalee-Jeven, in close pursuit, soon arrived at the same place; and thinking he had now caught his prey, drew in a hurry the yellow robe of Bhagavan from Metsye Gundhe's head, and spurned the sleeper with his foot: at which the Reyshee awoke, and the fire of his eye falling upon Kalee-Jeven, who stood before him, instantly reduced him to ashes. This Metsye Gundhe was the son of Rajah Mandhata, who conquered wheresoever he turned his arms; for which reason Devatas and men besought his assistance in their wars with their enemies. As Metsye Gundhe was extremely fatigued by the toils of war, and had not slept for a number of nights, Eendra and the other Devatas thanked him for the satisfaction he had procured them, and desired him, at length, to retire, and enjoy the refreshment of a long repose. They told him they had the power of conferring on him Dherme, Arthe, or Kam, but that, without the favour of Bhagavan, they could not give him Mookt, or beatitude; that, however, Shree-Bhagavan would one day bestow it on

him. They entreated him, for the present, to repair by sleep the fatigues of war, and denounced, that, whoever should disturb and awaken him, should instantly by his look be reduced to ashes. Under these circumstances, Kalee-Jeven awoke the sage, and suffered the fate denounced. Creeshna then came forward in all the splendor of the Divinity, and was respectfully asked by Metsye Gundhe who he might be, and how, with his tender and beautiful feet, he arrived at that thorny place. Then, suddenly, as if in reply to his own question, he exclaimed, "Thou art the sun! the moon! Bhagavan! Gopal!" adding, that he knew him from the splendor of his countenance, which had exchanged his darkness for light, that he acknowledged him for the superior of the three Devatas; and, after again asking by what earthly appellative he was known, told him that himself was Metsye Gundhe, son of Rajah Mandhata. Creeshna replied, that his names were like his bodies and his actions, *innumerable*: that even those who could count the grains of the universe could not number them. But that *now*, when he was come to lighten the burthens of the earth, to comfort the good and punish the wicked, he was called Vasudeva, after his earthly progenitor; that he had slain a number of Rakshas, and, lastly, Cansa: that there were reasons why he had brought Kalee-Jeven to that fate; and, as the Devatas had told him he should obtain Mookt from Bhagavan, and as in a former life he had been a sincere devotee to him, (Creeshna,) he bid him ask what he desired. Metsye Gundhe, recollecting that Garga had cast his nativity, and told him that he should one day enjoy a sight of Bhagavan, was elated with joy, and said, "O supreme Lord! how can MAN, who is the prey of Maya, (delusion,) praise THEE properly? Blinded by the passions, he spends the precious moments of existence in their service; and, like a frog secluded in a well, who knows nothing of the external state of things, is lost in oblivion. But now, by the advantage of

beholding thee, my understanding is enlightened, and I know thee to be Bhagavan!" Creeshna replied, "O Metsye Gundhe! I know what is your desire, and it is granted, although the giver of the throne of the Chekrewertee cannot obtain it. He who gives up his mind to me and seeks no other support, I am his *possession* and *treasure*." Metsye Gundhe, after praises and thanksgiving to the Almighty, being aware that the influence of the Cali Yug was apparent, wherein men would become very short-lived and be immersed in depravity, thought it better to withdraw his mind altogether from the world. Taking leave, therefore, of Creeshna, he set out towards the north, and, going to the mountain Gundhemaden, gave up his mind to the recollection of the Almighty Creator, beheld the Splendor God, and became so absorbed as to lose all self-consciousness.

Creeshna, after this, came down by the way of the mountains, defeated the entire army of Kalee-Jeven, and sent all the booty and prizes to Dwaraka. Jarasandha set out in search of Creeshna, and, when he saw him, Creeshna and Ram went before him as if in flight. There is a mountain called *Nevedroog Naghen*, into the defiles of which they retired. Jarasandha rejoiced at this, assuring himself that no road was now left for their escape; collecting, therefore, a great number of faggots, and blocking up all the avenues of retreat, he set fire to them all at the four sides, and concluding that both Ram and Creeshna were certainly burnt, returned triumphant to his own dominions. This mountain was eleven Yogans high above the earth, but Creeshna and Ram leapt over it in safety, and came to Dwaraka.

Rajah Bhekhem was monarch of Redeeme, and had five sons, Rokem, Akrej, Rokemrethe, Rokemmahoo, and Rokemmalee, and one daughter, named Rokemenee, who, having heard much of the miracles and praises of Bhagavan, became almost frantic

with love for him, and was dying for a sight of him. She made a vow, with heart and soul, never to accept of any other being for a husband than Bhagavan: he, too, having been variously informed of her beauty, was equally in love with her. Rajah Bhekhem and four of his sons were content to unite Rokemenee with Creeshna, but the eldest, Rokem, was utterly averse; he thought Creeshna beneath them, and preferred Rajah Seesoopal both for his dignity and qualities; so, in compliance with the recommendation of his eldest son, Rajah Bhekhem commenced the nuptials of his daughter with Seesoopal, son of Rajah Demkhookhe, monarch of Chendeperee, but always in despight of Rokemenee, who abhorred the union. When the time of marriage approached, she dispatched a Zennardar to Dwaraka with an account of her melancholy situation. The messenger soon arrived, and, going to the palace of Bhagavan, was ushered in, when Creeshna immediately descended from his embroidered throne and performed Dendevet, and received him with all possible marks of respect, to the surprise of the Yadavas, who did not think him worthy of so much honour, and spoke slightingly of this behaviour: but Creeshna rebuked them, and very highly advanced the character of Brahmins as heirs of Brahma. "O Swamee!" said he to the Brahmin, "in whatever kingdom you reside there is peace and prosperity. O Brahma-Mooret! this day is fortune indeed propitious, since an elevated character like yourself is come to my city. Speak openly and truly for what purpose are you come that I may fulfil it." The Brahmin, greatly pleased with his reception, said he was from Gundenpoor, and delivered Rokemenee's message, informing him how fervently that princess was attached to him, and that she had vowed with heart and soul to put herself under no protection but his, and that it was incumbent on him not to let the jackal seize on the food of the lion; that, for his sake, she had worshipped both Devas and Devatas,

and now, perhaps, the son of Demkhookhe would obtain her, for the day of marriage approached; and, to celebrate the nuptials, Seesoopal had brought with him, to Gundenpoor, Jarasandha, and Sal, and Denteblicktra: "Come, therefore," she added, "and slay these enemies, and release me from the anguish of suspense; contrive to get me out of my father's house, or remain concealed near Gundenpoor, *(but how can the sun be concealed?)* and, when the women of my tribe bear me forth out of the city to worship the Deva who presides over marriage, you may then easily bear me away. It is for you that I have long worshipped that Deva already: without your assistance I shall perish, and my blood will lie at your door; but nobles like yourself never soil their hands with the blood of youth and innocence." Creeshna, on reading this Patee, and hearing the message of the good Zennardar, determined to satisfy Rokemenee's inclinations.

Creeshna took the Brahmin by the hand, and ordering Dareke, his driver, to prepare his carriage immediately, desired the Brahmin to be seated therein. The horses were so fiery and unruly that Creeshna was obliged to seat *him* first and afterwards himself; he then again took hold of the Brahmin's hand that he might not be alarmed by the rapidity of the motion; for, distant as it was from Dwaraka to Gundenpoor, they performed the journey in one night. In the mean time, Rajah Bhekhem had made magnificent preparations for Seesoopal's approach. Learned Brahmins read the Vedas, the bridal women sung hymns, and intelligent sages consulted the Yejoor Veda for a lucky moment to perform the ceremonies and bind on the bracelets, while magnificent offerings of gold, silver, cows, rice, &c. were made in Rokemenee's name. Demkhookhe, also, on his part, had made equally splendid arrangements, and set out with his nobles for Gundenpoor, besides elephants, and fine horses, and carriages, and numberless attendants on foot. They

were met by Rajah Bhekhem, who with much ceremony conducted them into the city, and the whole cavalcade were provided with lodgings suitable to their rank. Among these, Jarasandha, Seesoopal, Sal, and others, enemies to Creeshna, were in hopes that the Yadavas would attend this marriage, that so they might seize Creeshna and Ram. Creeshna set out first alone, and Ram followed with a puissant army: but, as they did not arrive when the day of marriage came, and Rokemenee's Brahmin was not then returned, she went to her balcony, and, with great anxiety, stretched her longing eyes towards Dwaraka, bewailing her lot, ardently addressing Bhagavan, who knows the heart, and weeping exceedingly. At this time her left arm began to start, at which she rejoiced much, taking it for a happy omen; and, after a little time, looking again towards Dwaraka, she beheld an army approach, and recognized the standard for that which she had heard belonged to Creeshna, and soon after espied her Brahmin returning. At this moment her exultation exceeded all description, and she gave him a most gracious reception for having so well performed her commission. Soon after, Rajah Bhekhem heard the news of Creeshna's coming from Dwaraka to Gundenpoor, and then recollected how desirous himself had been for an union between him and Rokemenee, if Rokem had not opposed it. In consequence, he went out to meet Creeshna with all possible civility and respect, and attended him into the city with every offer and office of hospitality. His arrival occasioned a prodigious ferment through the whole town; for neither man nor woman was ignorant of the wonderful feats of Creeshna, and they all ran forth to behold him, with one voice exclaiming, "O Vidhata! make this a day worthy of conquest and victory for Rokemenee, for whom Seesoopal is by no means qualified." On the day of marriage, after various preceding ceremonies, the women led Rokemenee out of the city to

worship Ambeka-Deva amid a multitude of singers and musicians, and guards ranged on all sides. When they came to the place of worship, the guards, &c. remained on the outside of the temple, and the musicians, &c. with a vast crowd, stood before the door. Rokemenee and the women went in, the former praying to Deva Bhavani to unite her with Bhagavan, as had been the incessant tenor of her prayers. Then she washed her hands and feet, and went through all the preparations for the Pooja; but, when she bowed her head in the Dendevet, she said, in her heart, "O Deva Bhavani! to thee I bow for the desire of my soul, which is Creeshna." With Rokemenee all the women joined in that ejaculation who were present and assisting in the preparatives of the Pooja. On that day Rokemenee fasted the whole day, remaining in profound silence, and, on going away, bowed her head to the ground on the Deva's threshold. Rokemenee had then a lotos-flower in her hand, and a ring of valuable jewels on her finger, so resplendent, that the Apsaras beheld it from heaven, and said, "This cannot be Rokemenee? it is Ambeka-Deva herself." In short, her beauty and elegance struck even æthereal spectators with astonishment, and the guards, in a transport, fell down before her, unconscious that their bows escaped from their hands. Rokemenee, in hopes that Bhagavan would appear, walked very slowly forward; and, as the procession for the performance of the Pooja was of great length, her hair was wet with perspiration, resembling the morning dew in the cup of the hyacinth. Looking on all sides earnestly round, she soon perceived an army approaching, which she immediately conceived to belong to the monarch of her heart; and, in the excess of her joy, her feet refused to move forwards. Creeshna, like a ravenous lion, (with Balhadur before him) burst through the throng, and, taking Rokemenee by the hand, placed her instantly on his own carriage, and carried her triumphantly away. Numbers of

the guards, mounted on the fleetest horses, beheld the scene with amazement and stupefaction; and, when the news came to Seesoopal, and Sal, and Denteebektree, and Poorende, they were overwhelmed with grief and vexation. But Jarasandha was more inflamed with anger than all, and, in his rage, exclaimed, "This is surely most astonishing, that, in the presence of so many crowned heads as are here assembled, this cowherd should make so bold an effort, and succeed in taking away Rokemenee."

The several rajahs, however, immediately set out and pursued Creeshna with their respective armies; and Creeshna and Ram, aware of that pursuit, drew in their reins, and waited for them in serene composure. Then all at once began to rain a storm of arrows upon Creeshna and Ram, which Creeshna parried with his arrow; but Rokemenee, who had never seen a battle, was exceedingly terrified at the shower of arrows that fell around her, and clung close to Bhagavan; who bid her be of good courage, and observe how quickly he would slay them all. Balhadur took his weapons, the *Kel* and *Moosel*, and with them slew the elephants, broke the chariots, and levelled with the dust both horse and horsemen, while, with his foot, he spurned all the infantry to death. Only Jarasandha, and Seesoopal, and Sal, and Denteebektree, and Poorende, remained alive, and attempted to save themselves by flight; but Creeshna caught Seesoopal alive, and, after much scoffing and ironically declaiming on the fickleness of fortune, observed, that he himself, after defeating Jarasandha seventeen times, was worsted the eighteenth; although he gloried not in victory nor despaired in defeat; and even now he did not vaunt, though he had carried away Rokemenee from so numerous an assemblage of monarchs. After these bitter taunts he gave him his liberty, and Seesoopal slunk away with downcast and sorrowful looks, while the Yadavas acquired prodigious booty from their

routed enemies. Rajah Bhekhem soon heard of this defeat and of the slaughter of the armies, which made Rokem all on fire with rage and jealousy, and taking his arms, he swore in presence of all the rajahs, that, if he did not take Creeshna and Ram prisoners, he would no longer be accounted a man. Immediately assembling an army of one Kshouheenee, and, filling his quiver with arrows, he set off to give them battle. When he approached them, he exclaimed with a loud voice to them to stop, and not consider him as another Seesoopal. Creeshna immediately checked his horses, and Rokem again began to threaten what Rokemenee's five brothers, so well known throughout India for their valour, would do; and declared that those whom Creeshna had hitherto conquered were not true Khettrees. After vaunting for some time in this manner, he discharged three arrows successively. Creeshna parried them with his own arrow, and then shot six others: with four of those he killed the four horses of the carriage, with the fifth he extended the charioteer senseless, and the sixth cut away the flag of his standard. Rokem instantly launched at his foe five arrows, but they all missed. With another arrow Bhagavan broke his bow, and Rokem then had recourse to his other arms, and alternately used his spear, his gun, his battle-axe, and every other weapon he possessed, all of which Creeshna broke with his arrows, so that Rokem was reduced to a state of inactivity and disgrace, and with grief and rage approached Bhagavan as a moth flies round a taper, irresistably attracted by its splendor. Creeshna drew his sword, and was going to cut off his head, but Rokemenee started up trembling and affrighted, which averted Creeshna from his bloody purpose, and made him smile. Rokemenee acknowledged her brother's guilt, but pleaded successfully for his life; so Creeshna only tied his hands behind his back, and, with another arrow, struck off all the hair from his head and beard, while Ram and the other Yadavas

slew the whole Kshouheenee of troops. Ram laughed exceedingly when he came to Creeshna and saw the unfortunate plight to which Rokem was reduced, and said, it would have been a thousand times better for him to have been slain in battle, when he would have gone instantly to paradise, than to be reduced to such a disgraceful figure; for that even his own wife must now desert him as an object of disgust and horror. Then turning to Rokemenee, he said, "Be not angry with me, for JOY AND GRIEF ARE BORN TWINS FROM THE WOMB OF ETERNITY." And now he ironically remonstrated with Creeshna for his *cruelty*, while the warrior's best attribute was *mercy*. In the mean time Rokem was tortured with anguish; and, in despair, reflected on the oath he had taken in presence of all the rajahs, he himself being now a captive instead of Ram and Creeshna; and, dreading to shew his face among his friends, stayed where he was. Rajah Bhekhem presented to Creeshna the accustomed presents for the marriage-portion, and took leave. Thence Creeshna went to Dwaraka, where very great rejoicings were made for his return. They had all heard the account of his carrying away Rokemenee in the presence of so many crowned heads, and of the flight of Jarasandha and the other noble warriors, as well as of the state to which Rokem had been reduced. Devaci met Creeshna and Rokemenee at the palace, and conducted them to the bridal apartments.

Creeshna, about this period, from his great affection and friendship for the Pandoos, returned to Hastanapoor, and they, like dead men revived, went out to meet him. Creeshna acknowledging Judishter for his senior, went forward to salute him with his eyes fixed on his feet, and laid his head at Judishter's feet and also at Bheema's, and took Arjoon in his arms, while Nacul and Sahadeva kissed Bhagavan's feet. After seeing the Pandoos, Creeshna waited upon Koontee, who, covering his head and eyes, took him in her arms

and wept. Bheema, at the same time, smiling, told her it was a day to rejoice in and not to weep. Koontee then spoke for some time of the difficulties to which her children had been reduced, and that all her alliance was placed upon Creeshna. After her, Judishter opened his mouth in praise of Bhagavan, and said, "Surely I have performed some extraordinary acts of piety in a former life, since your august foot, which neither the Yogee by Yug, nor the *Tepeswee* by *Tepe*, can obtain, hath vouchsafed to come to me!" and recommended himself to his divine protection. Creeshna staid a full year in Hastanapoor to gratify the Pandoos: and one day he mounted Arjoon's carriage as driver, and they went together to the forest, and in Arjoon's ensign was the figure of an ape. On that day Arjoon hunted, with great success, lions, tigers, bears, boars, and transfixed very many stags with his arrows, so that he sent some of the venison to Rajah Judishter; and, being dry with the fatigue of the chase, he went to the bank of the Jumna to drink of the sweet and clear water, and they sat there some hours looking at the waves, when, by chance, they saw a beautiful girl who seemed earnestly looking after some person. Arjoon, by Creeshna's desire, went up to her and asked what she sought after, thus wandering alone in the desert? She answered, "Koorneste, I am the daughter of the Sun, and am in search of a husband, being determined to have none but Creeshna: and, if you should say that Creeshna will not have me, alas! alas! that granter of the desires of the world, and understander of the situation of his suitors, will surely at some time be propitious to me. *Kaleenderee* is my name: my father made me a place here in this water to stay till Creeshna should arrive." Arjoon, coming to Creeshna, began to laugh exceedingly, and wished him much joy of the adventure; for, that the girl had been in search for him, and now she had found him; and how happy his destiny was, that, wherever he went, the hand-

some girls followed him. Creeshna then placed Kaleenderee in the carriage, and they went to Hastanapoor, where he ordered Vesookerma to build her a fine house, which was finished that same day, and Kaleenderee resided in it, and he indulged her in all the wishes of her heart. Creeshna thus staid one year in Hastanapoor, which seemed but a single day to his friends. When that year expired, Kama-Deva presented him with a bow, with two white horses, with a quiver that was never empty; and a shield for Arjoon; and Maya, the Ditya, whom Arjoon had preserved from the fire, built him a Devankhaneh, or council-chamber, all of chrystal, which the jealous Doorjoodhen beheld with rage and envy. Creeshna having thus powerfully manifested his protection of the Pandoos, returned to Dwaraka, taking Kaleenderee with him.

Rajah Koosele, monarch of Kooselya, who was also called Mekhenjeyt, had a daughter named Seeta, and in his circar were seven bulls. He had made a promise, that, whoever should overcome these seven bulls, he would give his daughter to him. Creeshna having heard of this promise went to Kooselya. Seeta had knowledge of his coming, and said to herself, "My felicity will then only be complete when the son of Devaci shall make *Pangreken* with me. The print of the foot of that Yadoopetee is like the flower on the head of Brahma who sprang from the lotos, and Roodra Mahadeva is ever in search of that place; the honour, therefore, of kissing that foot is reserved for the fortunate alone. Neither is it repugnant to his mercy to attend to my prayer: for, although that august personage hath no desire for any beautiful women, yet it is his peculiar excellence not to be forgetful of any one that seeks him. O I shall feel myself raised to the state of a Devata could I but be enrolled in the list of his attendants!" Creeshna, arriving at Kooselya, told Mekhenjeyt, that he had long been desirous to see him; and, as he had recently heard of

his promise concerning the conquest of the seven bulls, he was come to combat with them. "Although," said he, "O Mekhenjeyt! I am not on a level with monarchs, and have no intention to make myself equal with the mighty, yet, as in this case no difference is expressed between high and low, chance must decide the event." Rajah Mekhenjeyt answered, that the truly great never praised themselves, that Creeshna's fame was not unknown to the world, that he was very happy to see him; and that, if he had visited him sooner, the proclamation for a public competition and contest should never have been made. Creeshna then asked where the seven bulls were. The rajah told his servant to prepare a place for the conflict, and great numbers of rajahs and rajahpoots were collected to behold it; while Creeshna prepared himself to attack them. The seven bulls were brought in bound with chains of iron: the very sight of them diffused a general terror, and it was difficult to loose their chains. Creeshna, dividing himself into seven distinct persons, intrepidly approached the bulls, and, like a child taking a goat by the ear, caught them all seven, put a halter into each of their nostrils, and made them perfectly submissive and tame. Rajah Mekhenjeyt rejoiced exceedingly that the performer of this feat was Yadoopetee; the Devatas in heaven, as well as men on earth, were all gladdened by the event, and, in a fortunate moment, Rajah Mekhenjeyt married his daughter to Creeshna At that happy marriage Devatas and Vidyadhers attended in transport: the mother of Seeta too was at the summit of bliss. Rajah Mekhenjeyt gave as a marriage-portion 10,000 milch-cows, 3,000 pounds weight of jewels, with very valuable chains, 9,000 elephants, 90,000 carriages, ten times as many horses as carriages, and ten times as many slaves as horses, and, besides these, other articles out of number; after which Creeshna departed. The other rajahs all conceived extreme envy and jealousy that so very beautiful a

princess with such prodigious wealth should be taken away by Gopal; therefore, collecting their troops together, they pursued Creeshna; but, such was their appearance, that one would say they were a parcel of vagabonds and beggars come out of the city to demand charity; and when they came near, they all hung their heads down upon their breasts. Then Arjoon, who was with Creeshna, turned about, and strung his famous bow Kandeva, when they all fled away from that renowned warrior like a huge flock of kids from a wolf, and Creeshna, by gentle and easy stages, proceeded on to Dwaraka. There was a rajah named Soot-Keret, who had a daughter named Bhedera, whom he married to Creeshna in spight of his sons, who opposed the match. There was also another rajah who had a daughter named Lechmeena, who had been adopted by Sooneter, and from him Shree-Creeshna had her in the mode of Pangrehen. These are the eight Nayega whom Bhagavan first espoused; and now will be given an account of a great number of rajah's daughters whom he released from the captivity in which they were kept by Bhoom Assoor Ditya.

Bhoom Assoor Ditya, son of the Earth, was so mighty and powerful, that he threw even Soorg-Loke into confusion, and drove Eendra from Eendra-Pooree, and set up his own government there, after grievously harrassing Eendra. Then leaving a deputy of his own in Soorg, he returned to his own city, which was called Prag-Jothek; and he had round his castle a defence of fire, and water, and poisonous snakes, and a white mountain like quicksilver. One day, Seete-Bhavani expressed a wish to see the trees of Soorg; and Creeshna, immediately taking her along with him upon Garoori, said, "We must first see the person who has driven Eendra out of Soorg;" so they went to the city of Prag-Jothek. Bhagavan first, with the arrow of his might, threw down the quicksilver mountain, and Garoori, by his command, devoured all the castle of snakes.

He commanded the rain also to descend in so violent a manner, that the castle of fire was reduced to ashes; while, from the fierce look of that Lord of the three Lokes, the castle of water was dried up. Then he sounded the great shell Panchajanya, and the hemisphere re-echoed with the noise: at the sound thereof, the hearts of all the pious persons in that city were turned towards Creeshna; while those of the guilty were struck with fear and amazement. Bhoom, with his five heads, was at that time asleep; but, as the noise awakened him, he began to reflect that on earth he had left no mighty warrior alive, and that in Soorg no one was greater than Eendra, whom he had thrust out from Eendra-Pooree. He, therefore, came forth in a great rage, terrible as the sun of the last day, with a Treesoole (tridental weapon) in his hand, and, seeing Creeshna, struck Garoori on the breast, at the same time bellowing with a mighty voice from each of his five mouths. Treesenek Ditya, one of his servants, now came forward and represented to him that he demeaned himself in this paltry engagement, and offered to take it entirely upon himself. Treesenek had a Geda in his hand, which he struck with all his might at Bhagavan, who shivered it with his Van. Treesenek took another Geda, which Creeshna parried, and asked Seete-Bhavani if she was afraid, adding, that there was no cause for alarm or grief. Creeshna then urged Garoori a few steps forward, at which time he cut off Treesenek's three heads, and turned them round, as Eendra, with his Kothare, cut off the tops of the three branches of Soomeeroo. Treesenek had sons, whom he called Releeberwen, who, being exceedingly affected with their father's death, and knowing Bhoom for their lord and protector, came to the conflict and prepared to fight with every species of weapon; but they wasted their strength in vain, their utmost efforts were of no avail, for Creeshna broke all their weapons like a grain of Sesame. He then severed each of their heads from their bodies: and, by the efficacy

of Creeshna's omnipotence, the hands and feet of all the soldiers fell from their arms and thighs. Bhoom, now, in great anger, driving his elephants before him, advanced towards Creeshna; and at that time, in the sight of Bhoom Assoor, clouds and thunder only appeared. Bhoom Assoor, with the assistance of Maya, sometimes rose up like a fire, sometimes like water, sometimes like a burning wind, and sometimes like a violent rain, and thus discharged his arrows. But Creeshna so collected his own Maya that the mightiest exertions of his art were entirely fruitless. Those, who were mounted on elephants, Garoori, with his wings, hurried up into the air; those who were in chariots or on horseback, with his talons and claws, like a file, he grated to pieces; while those who were terrified sought their safety in flight. Bhoom, however, did not once turn his back; but, fixing his foot firmly on the ground, and taking a spear in hand, he whirled it over his heads, and threw it at Creeshna. Now, though the spear was more ponderous than was ever before hurled from a human arm, yet it fell on Creeshna's body lighter than a flower; and, when Bhoom Assoor had exhausted all his rage and strength, Creeshna, taking a Treesoole, cut off all Bhoom's five heads as he sat upon his elephant, and threw them to the ground. All the Devatas rejoiced at the slaughter of Bhoom, and rained down flowers from heaven. The earth, which was Bhoom's mother, came to offer service to Creeshna, and presented him with a Koondel of great cost, and a Vingenee-Mala, and other very valuable articles, and made a long speech to propitiate Creeshna; entreating, that, although Bhoom had been most criminal, yet as his Avatar took place for the express purpose of lightening her burthens, that still he would let her behold with her own eyes the extent of his mercy to the defunct. The Earth, indeed, was with heart and soul devoted to Creeshna, and he in return gave her son Mookt. Bhoom Assoor, by force and vio-

lence, had carried away every rajah's daughter who he had heard was beautiful, so that each day when any of those ladies came before him, he beheld her, indeed with his eyes, but immediately thought no more of her. Perasere, the Reyshee, hath observed that he had collected 16,000 of these girls, and other Reyshees say they exceeded that number. Creeshna, after slaying Bhoom, entered his house, and at last came to these young ladies, who, having heard of Creeshna's miracles amid all the calamities of their captivity, had rested their whole reliance upon him for their release, and had heard his person described; so that, the moment they saw him, they conceived him to be the deliverer of the world. They all respectfully rose up and most submissively addressed him, praying for relief; adding that, though they were not Hooris, they were desirous at least to be the slaves of his palace, and wives, and the very Dasees (slaves) of his Dasees. Creeshna sent these 16,000 girls, and prodigious wealth, and the elephant Iravet with four teeth, and 6,400 white elephants, and besides them very many other elephants and carriages without number, and horses of the first race, to Dwaraka; and himself, with Seete-Bhavani, proceeded to Eendra-Pooree, whither Eendra had gone after the slaughter of Bhoom-Assoor. Eendra, with all his thousand eyes, could not be satisfied with beholding Creeshna, but saluted him with mingled joy and reverence, and prostrated himself seven times before him. Creeshna gave the ear-rings and necklace which he had received from Bhoom's mother to the mother of Eendra. Eendra, with his hands joined before him, said he had brought the tree of Pareejatek according to order, and he laid it on Garoori's back; so, when Creeshna returned to Dwaraka, the tree was planted in Seete-Bhavani's court. Thither came the bees of Soorg attracted by the blossoms of Pareejatek; and Creeshna in an instant, multiplying his own person into 16,000, went to the palace of each,

and, by joy and pleasure, dissipated the grief and pining of them all. Those young and modest creatures knew not at first how to behave, but hung down their heads with mingled shame and bashfulness. Creeshna saw their confusion, and taught them how to look and how to laugh; he behaved with such kindness to them, as greatly increased their affection for him; and, in a short time, instructed them in all the rules and ceremonies of the haram, and in all such qualifications as are expected from their sex and condition.

The Creator of the world, who had come into existence for the protection of the Devatas and his devotees, for the nourishment of milch cows, and for the destruction of Cansa, had built Dwaraka with unspeakable magnificence. All the walls were so studded with brilliant jewels that there was no need of lamps in the night. The canopies to all the houses were suspended by strings of pearl, whose lustre illuminated earth and heaven; and, by the odour of the flowers of Pareejatek, the courts and gardens of Dwaraka were all scented. To describe the full splendor of Dwaraka would be an endless labour. One day Creeshna was sitting in his magnificent palace among those who conceived themselves his relations; one his father, another his son, another his brother, &c. &c.; and Rokemenee, dressed in all her richest jewels and choicest habiliments, exhibited the full display of her beauty, when Creeshna, to try her temper and give her charms a new mode of lustre under the influence of anger, began jocosely to taunt her with having refused so excellent a match as Seesoopal, and for having been so forward as to send her Brahmin to him at a time that he had made her no advances, and certainly was not in love with her. In this style of keen but good-humoured satire he tormented her so much, that at last she turned pale and descended from her seat: she stood for some time before him in the utmost shame and distress, unable to

could now hope to see *him* no more, since he also was removed to Dwaraka. Ram made himself acceptable to all, both old and young, and particularly endeavoured to comfort and console the Gopias, who were quite overpowered with joy at again beholding him, and began to talk altogether concerning Creeshna, and at once to blame and lament his absence; then they asked after the children of the eight Nayega and of the 16,000 Rajaguees, and wished them all manner of happiness. Others desired to know if those 16,000 were all dutiful and obedient wives? and thus by degrees they worked themselves into an agony of passion, and all wept and wailed exceedingly. Balhadur endeavoured to pacify them; and, at last, seeing there was no remedy but patience, and that he consoled them to the utmost in his power in the name of Creeshna, they began to be more tranquil. Balhadur stayed there the two months of spring, and one morning he went to the banks of the Jumna, the Gopias accompanying him. The soft wind blowing cool and perfumed from the water, and its flowers playing a prelude to desire, Balhadur, sometimes bathing in the stream and sometimes recumbent on the bank, enjoyed all sorts of pleasure and delight with the Gopias. Varuna, the Devata, now brought him a musical instrument, and Ram and all the Gopias became intoxicated with the melody which issued from that jungle; they indulged in violent fits of laughter, the effect of excessive pleasure, and sang without any fear or restraint, till at length, what with singing, dancing, and a thousand sportive gambols, they were all in a profuse perspiration, and it shone upon their cheeks like drops of dew on the flowers. Ram, in his fit of intoxication, stretched out his hand to the Jumna several times, and called upon the River to come personally to him. After waiting some time, and receiving no answer from the water, he grew angry, and said, "Jumna, thou wilt presently appear when I shall have cut thee into seven

fined herself to supplication and submission; nor even when Balbadur cut off his head did she suffer the violence of her anguish to get the better of her discretion, and that he had come to her assistance the moment he had received her letter, not because of her beauty, but on account of her excellent temper. Thus the affair ended; and in the same manner did Creeshna behave to all the 16,000 to promote mirth and pleasure. He was assiduous to fulfil all the customs and duties of domestic life, and from morning to evening acted as became a Greheste.

Each of these eight Nayega* bore Creeshna ten sons; so also each of the 16,000 bore him ten sons: Rokemenee, however, was the chief favourite, the others never really inspired him with love notwithstanding their exquisite beauty: but neither Brahma, nor Roodra, nor Eendra, could attain to the rank and dignity which the eight Nayega acquired by their fidelity and attachment. Their names are as follows: ROKEMENEE, SETEE-BHAVANI, JAMOOMETA, KALENDEREE, LECHMEENA, SEETA, BHEDRAVETEE, MHIRBINDA.

In the mean time, Ram, recollecting Nanda and Yasodha, and his former pleasures with the Gopias, one morning early set out for Bindreben On his arrival there, all were overjoyed: Nanda and Yasodha kissed him, and were eager to tell him that his long absence had appeared to them a whole YUG: then they anxiously solicited tidings concerning Creeshna. They had heard of the wonderful splendor and magnificence in which he lived, and lamented that he was removed to Dwaraka, whither their occupations and age equally prevented them from going: and, in respect to Vasudeva, whom, however unhappy he had been while in confinement at Mathura, they at least had some opportunities of seeing, they

* Perhaps the word NAYEGA is the feminine of NAIG, formerly a title of HYDER ALLY. — Halhed.

could now hope to see *him* no more, since he also was removed to Dwaraka. Ram made himself acceptable to all, both old and young, and particularly endeavoured to comfort and console the Gopias, who were quite overpowered with joy at again beholding him, and began to talk altogether concerning Creeshna, and at once to blame and lament his absence; then they asked after the children of the eight Nayega and of the 16,000 Rajaguees, and wished them all manner of happiness. Others desired to know if those 16,000 were all dutiful and obedient wives? and thus by degrees they worked themselves into an agony of passion, and all wept and wailed exceedingly. Balhadur endeavoured to pacify them; and, at last, seeing there was no remedy but patience, and that he consoled them to the utmost in his power in the name of Creeshna, they began to be more tranquil. Balhadur stayed there the two months of spring, and one morning he went to the banks of the Jumna; the Gopias accompanying him. The soft wind blowing cool and perfumed from the water, and its flowers playing a prelude to desire, Balhadur, sometimes bathing in the stream and sometimes recumbent on the bank, enjoyed all sorts of pleasure and delight with the Gopias. Varuna, the Devata, now brought him a musical instrument, and Ram and all the Gopias became intoxicated with the melody which issued from that jungle; they indulged in violent fits of laughter, the effect of excessive pleasure, and sang without any fear or restraint, till at length, what with singing, dancing, and a thousand sportive gambols, they were all in a profuse perspiration, and it shone upon their cheeks like drops of dew on the flowers. Ram, in his fit of intoxication, stretched out his hand to the Jumna several times, and called upon the River to come personally to him. After waiting some time, and receiving no answer from the water, he grew angry, and said, "Jumna, thou wilt presently appear when I shall have cut thee into seven

pieces." Then he rose, and taking up his weapon, the Kel,* he placed it on the bank. The Jumna was exceedingly alarmed and trembled with fear, and, appearing before him, said, "O Balhadur! thou Avatar of Seshanaga, who has the earth on his head, to thee I bow with reverence. Thou art Creeshna! and before thee, as Creeshna, I now appear: do with me as seems good unto thee." Thus did the Jumna humble itself before Ram, who then became appeased, and taking up his Kel, went back to Bindreben. Then Varuna Deva presented him with a Neelamber, and a precious chain, and a string of pearls. Thus did Balhadur remain two months, with all manner of satisfaction, in Bindreben.

Nared one day felt himself extremely perplexed when he considered that Creeshna should be called Bhagavat-Perebrahme, and yet that he should be so much *attached to women.* Again he reflected that, whereas, a man has more than enough with one wife, how could Creeshna conduct himself with 16,000? Does he enjoy them in rotation, or by his power and might, has he all of them always with him? This Nared determined to see for himself, and learn the truth; accordingly he went to Dwaraka. On arriving at the skirts of the town he was delighted with the sight of the gardens full of flowers in fresh bloom; and round all the environs were houses for devotees, which added beauty to the city like amulets against malignant eyes tied round the arm. Learned Brahmins were every where chanting the Vedas, like intoxicated bees buzzing around aromatic Nenuphar. Geese and Sares's *(called by us Cyrus's)* adorned the banks of the water, and Lotos's beautified its surface. He beheld houses for 300,000 men, all of lofty architecture and

* Kel means a *scythe, i. e.* the blade of it, the third Ram being considered, in India, as the patron of agriculture. Cyrus is, in the same manner, said to have cut the River Gyndes into small portions, out of revenge for one of the horses sacred to the sun having been drowned in it. The one story is probably a copy of the other.

built of chrystal, the windows of diamonds and precious stones of every colour, and embroidered canopies before all the houses. All the streets and lanes were entirely free from dust and filth: there were also many curiously-painted temples adorned with water-gilding. The shops in the bazars, with pillars on every side, were all set out to the best advantage, and the palaces of the great were superb beyond all description, uniting magnificence with elegance. The houses of the eight Nayega and 16,000 wives of Creeshna were built in a line by themselves with the utmost symmetry, beauty, and splendor. Nared, on approaching them, beheld the pillars of every house formed of coral, and the courts and Serais embellished with jewels; canopies of cloth of gold were every where suspended with valuable strings of the finest pearl; beautiful children were playing in the courts; while charming slave-girls were diligently attending their several mistresses. The peacocks on the house tops were rejoicing and singing in the exhalation, which arose, from the constant burning of aromatics, in such quantity, as to form a cloud that resembled the rainy season, and numberless rubies that were distributed about the buildings preserved a constant light over the place. Nared, with all his curiosity of inspection, could not distinguish between the slaves and the mistresses. In the first house which he entered he beheld 1,000 maids, perfectly handsome, standing with their hands joined before them round their lady, who, with a fly-flap, the handle set with jewels, was preventing Creeshna from being molested with flies. When Nared came in, Bhagavan spied him at a distance, and, immediately rising from his Musmud, went to meet him, laid his head at Nared's feet, and welcomed him. Nared was ashamed of so great an honour, and made an apologizing speech. Creeshna then *washed Nared's feet*, and poured that water on his own head; after which, he seated Nared in the place of honour, paid him worship,

and made the mistress of the house do the same. Nared, in a transport of wonder and delight, exclaimed, "O Natha! no one can fathom thy mercy and benevolence! thy Avatar is for the purpose of protecting the good and punishing the wicked. If it be thy august will to perform services to Nared, it is as a father and mother perform service for their children, out of their own voluntary affection and good-will. Men, who are submerged in the pit of their passions, have no possibility of escaping from their control, except by thy mercy, in being born again in this transient world." Thus did Nared utter various praises and thanksgivings; yet did his mind still misgive him, and he determined to go to another house to see if he should find Creeshna there, or if he would take the first opportunity of going thither. He went, therefore, with speed to the next house, and there he found Creeshna sitting and amusing himself with the mistress of it: On seeing Nared, Creeshna rose up as before, received him with the utmost reverence, respectfully thanked him for the honour his house received from his visit, and hoped he would stay there some days. Thence Nared went to a third house, where Creeshna was looking at the children at play; and, in a fourth house, he was bathing. Nared suspected that Creeshna had come by some secret way from the former house with such haste as to get before him, and therefore determined that he would hurry as fast as possible to another to ascertain the fact: so he ran with all expedition to the next house and there he found Creeshna sitting at a banquet. At another he was giving alms to the Brahmins; at another he was practising at his weapons; at another he was reviewing the ordinary elephants and horses; at another he was in conference with Oodhoo and Akroor; at another he was sitting and hearing the songs of the beautiful slave girls; at another he was distributing milch cows in charity; at another he was hearing the Pooraums; at another he

was laughing and joking with the mistress of the house; at another he was performing the Howm: at another he was exercising Dherme; at another he had set the women to quarrel, and was amusing himself with looking on; at another he was pacifying a dispute among them; at another he was sitting with Ram; at another he was preparing a marriage-portion, or Dheek; at another he was rejoicing at being returned from his son's wedding; at another he was digging a well or tank; at another he was preparing for the chase. In this manner did Nared enter the houses of the eight Nayega and of the 16,000 wives, and in every one of them he found Creeshna differently engaged, so that he was altogether astonished and confounded. Creeshna, at length, appeared, and thus addressed him: "O Nared! these secret doubts and suspicions which have so perplexed thee are no fault of mine but of thine own mind. On subjects where the wisdom even of Devatas is confused, what can be said of man's limited understanding? Ask each of my wives separately whether she ever thinks me absent from her; she will answer that I am never for a moment from her sight." Nared humbled himself and confessed his weakness, that he was bewildered by Maya, and submissively implored Creeshna's mercy in his behalf. Creeshna answered, "O Nared! I am the sole Kerta. My acts are inscrutable; nor must any suspicions be cherished, nor any distraction of mind be endured, on account of them, nor any idle fancies and curiosity be indulged. Perplex not thyself farther, but quietly pursue thine own affairs, and make mankind happy with thy presence and conversation." Nared, however, was several times subject to the same distraction; but, at length, calling on the name of Narayen and playing on his Veena, he departed. Creeshna, in the mean time, employing himself in the functions of a Grehcharee, regulated the affairs of his families and children, while

each of his wives conceived that Creeshna preferred none to herself, and that he wished for no other.

Creeshna acted in all his domestic concerns precisely according to the institutes of the Vedas for masters of families, and daily increased in confidential intercourse with his respective wives, who severally returned it. Rokemenee, however, enjoyed the pre-eminence of esteem. This was Creeshna's way of life: he rose every morning at the time of Brehmenee Mhooret, and went punctually through the various ceremonies and devout exercises prescribed by the Brahmins, and all those purifications appointed for the purpose of Prachheete for the actions proper to human nature, which every day are committed. If it be asked how could there be supposed any necessity for Prachheete in that pure essence, the answer is, that it is by reason of his coming in a *material* form. After the Prate-Sendhya, he washed, and then went to salute and pay Nemeskar to his father and mother and the elders of the family. At mid-day and at evening he again performed the prescribed devotions and ablutions; and, at the time of each Sandhya, as well as at his meals, he spoke to no one, because this is recommended as profitable to every one by the rules of the Vedas; for, the good of the speaker at such times is transferred to the person addressed, and *his* evil reverts to the speaker. He performed Terpen in respect of the Devatas, Reyshees, Muni-Eswaras, and Zennardars; after which he distributed cows with gilt horns to the Brahmins; and necklaces of pearl, and silver, and silk clothes, and much Sesame, to Zennardars of good conduct and learning. But of young milch-cows, having calves of beautiful forms and good tempers, he every day gave a certain number more than the day before, and uttered Mantras and Slocas: afterwards he went to dinner. First he set apart one morsel from each meal in respect of Jegedeish, and performed Dyhan, and

called to mind his own figure. The second morsel he took into his mouth in the name of Perebrahme; for every day certain Zennardars were appointed who gave him his food. After eating, he dressed and put on fine garments, and rubbed himself with sandal and other perfumed waters, and regaled himself with the odour of them, first giving some to the Zennardars and then serving himself. Every day he beheld the reflexion of his own face on Ghee, with gold and silver vessels, and gave orders for supplying victuals and clothes for his wives, and children, and dependants of all kinds. His carriages and horses were always in readiness. Sometimes he rode in his chariot with Satek, sometimes with Oodhoo, and sometimes alone. When he went from his palace, his jewel-studded carriage glistened like the sun, and the women of the city mounted on their roofs to behold it as long as it was visible. Dareke, the charioteer, guided the reins. When he sat with the Yadavas in his assembly, which surpassed the council of Eendra, it would be degrading it to compare that assembly to the moon and stars shining in midnight glory.

One morning after public devotion, there arrived at Dwaraka a messenger, who, on being admitted to the palace, thus delivered his charge: "O thou who givest kings their thrones, hast thou not heard of Jarasandha how he boasts his superiority over all other men of renown! Whensoever he sallies forth for the purpose of conquest over the four points of the world, he leaves to those who submit and become his subjects their rank and property, and grants them peace; but whosoever opposes him is taken prisoner and kept in confinement. I come an embassador from those wretched state-prisoners; who, having heard of thy glory both on sea and land, have sent me to thy august presence to sue for protection. Therefore, O thou destroyer of the unjust! forget not us miserable captives, but free us from the chains of the tyrant. Man is stricken

by outward circumstances, and, mistaking evil for good, becomes forgetful of thee; but he who knows and remembers thee is free from all error. We, too, ignorant and short-sighted mortals knew not thy truth, but thought Jarasandha the chief and head of the kingdoms of the earth; but now we are better acquainted with thy mighty and miraculous acts, and that thou wert born in the world to protect the good and punish the wicked. We, therefore, are also under thy protection, and our loss of honour falls on thee. Our faults and crimes doubtless are many, but look not on them while we are under misfortune; consider thy own name, which is THE PARDONER!" After the messenger had uttered this, and much more to the same purpose, Creeshna comforted and dismissed him. In the mean time Nared came into his presence, with his Veena in his hand, calling on the name of Narayen. Creeshna immediately rose from his throne, saluted him with great respect, and placed him in the seat of honour. Nared then played so delightfully on his instrument as to ravish all the hearers. When he had finished, Creeshna demanded of him news of the Pandoos, and how they fared under the tyranny and oppression of Doorjoodhen? Nared answered, "O my lord! with what astonishment am I seized to hear thee ask news of the Pandoos! What being is there in the circle of existence of whom Shree-Creeshna has not the most complete knowledge? But as thou hast had the condescension to *ask* for information, I am bound to impart it. O Creeshna! at present the Pandoos, relying on thy benevolence, entertain a design to celebrate the Raisoo-Yug;* but, for myself, I am amazed to think where they will be able to make the arrangements for so grand a festival. Yet there are very many rajahs assembled in Hastanapoor, whose expectations are all turned towards Dwaraka. Now, since

* The Raisoo-Yug, or feast of rajah's, could only be performed by a monarch who had conquered all the other sovereigns of the world.

thy favour is more particularly extended towards the Pandoos than others, certainly thou wilt have the goodness to go thither. O Natha! he who lives in remembrance of thee, be he prince or beggar, assuredly obtains *Peremekete,* for thy name is equivalent to happiness." Thus did Nared utter Creeshna's praises. Creeshna spoke kindly to him in return, and, calling Oodhoo, asked him his advice if it were not right that he should go to Hastanapoor, since the Pandoos had already commenced the Raisoo-Yug in reliance upon him: and, since it was time that those rajahs, who, being prisoners to Jarasandha, had put themselves under his protection, should be released; in short, whether he thought the journey could not be so contrived as at once to accomplish the two desirable objects.

Oodhoo, by his prophetic spirit, knew what was the wish of the principal among the Yadavas, and therefore he answered, "That certainly there was great difficulty in procuring and arranging the necessaries for a Raisoo-Yug, and that Judishter ought to have first weighed his own strength, and have considered how it would be possible for him to reduce to subjection the rajahs of all the eight sides round him, as well as to have consulted his great support, Creeshna, on the subject; but that his present conduct proceeded entirely from his firm reliance and full confidence in Creeshna's friendship, who would indisputably interfere, and bring his expectations to a fortunate issue. He therefore counselled Creeshna to go to Hastanapoor, whence the distance was not very great to Jarasandha's kingdom; who, in consequence of his violence and strength, which surpasses that of 10,000 elephants, thinks no one on earth able to cope with him, yet Bheema is full as strong as Jarasandha. He advised, therefore, that Bheema, should present himself in the habit of a Brahmin, and demand alms of Jarasandha, who, being himself a Brahmin, would not fail to say he would give

him whatever he should ask. Let Bheema then require Dhermejoodhe, after which, by his own strength and your favour united, he will infallibly conquer him. The journey to Hastanapoor is a good pretext; for, Jarasandha will think it undertaken on account of Judishter's Yug." It should here be remembered that Creeshna, on a former occasion, did not himself crush Jarasandha, and that, by his order, he was not slain by others. In fact, he was fated to die by the hand of Bheema-Seen, and could not be slain until Bheema and Creeshna should be together hostilely inclined in the place where he was. Oodhoo knew this prophetically, and therefore made this proposal: at the same time he reminded Creeshna of the message of the rajahs who were in prison, and whose wives had no other comfort to give their disconsolate children than the hope of relief and release from him. Oodhoo subjoined, that there was no injustice in destroying Jarasandha to release the others; for that, by this very act, his liberation, from alternately living and dying, would be ensured, and the Yug of Rajah Judishter could proceed only in the event of Jarasandha's subjugation or death. The Yadavas all applauded Oodhoo's advice, and Creeshna ordered a fortunate moment to be chosen for sending forward the advanced baggage: Balhadur, the beauty of the Yadavas, was appointed to accompany it. Predemne, and others of his august sons, who stirred not without a signal from Creeshna, were honoured with the permission to be of the party. On the day of march, heaven and earth re-echoed with the sound of the kettle-drums. The eight Nayega all went with them in Palekees, Doolees, &c. and the baggage was mounted on elephants and camels, or conveyed in large waggons: crowns, and thrones, and litters, and armour, and Hejas-Meekhee, or weapons with a thousand spikes, were all conveyed in great quantities in the field-armory. The spears in the hands of the young warriors glittered like fishes

sparkling in the sea. Select messengers went before and comforted the imprisioned rajahs with assurances that Creeshna was approaching to release them; and Nared, having obtained favour in the sight of Creeshna, returned joyfully home.

Creeshna set forth in all pomp and splendor from Dwaraka; and, passing through the kingdom of Soorethe, came to the confines of Meevat. Judishter came out several stages to meet them, taking with him Brahmins learned in the Vedas, and pious Acharyas, with music and singing, to swell the procession, and express his joy at the meeting. Creeshna, as younger than Judishter, would have kissed his feet; Judishter anticipated his intention, and fell at Creeshna's feet in tears of rapture. In the records of mankind, beauty and loveliness of person are first numbered from Rajah Bali, from Nacul, and Sehedeva; hence most of the Yadavas came eagerly from Dwaraka on purpose to see the two latter. Creeshna, after having saluted the Pandoos, the Brahmins, Acharyas, &c. went forward, surrounded, preceded, and followed, by music and singing. Every inhabitant of Hastanapoor, male and female, rejoiced at his arrival, and crowded the roofs, windows, and doors, to see him enter; and had bedecked all their houses for the triumph. Great crowds stood in the road to receive him, and the women presented him with flowers of five colours as he passed. All the streets were cleansed from dirt and dust, and sprinkled with perfumed water. The bazars and squares were all new beautified with golden plaster, and odoriferous woods were burning in all the houses. The brilliant jewels which adorned the doors of the Pandoos shone like lamps, as if they had been placed there for the purpose of shedding their combined lustre on Creeshna. The women all praised and envied the happiness of the eight Nayegas, and flocked round Creeshna in adoring multitudes. When Creeshna entered the palace of the Pandoos, Koontee (the mother of three

of the five sons of Pandoo) rose up at a distance, and with the tenderest maternal affection held him a long time to her breast, and wept; while he several times laid his head at her feet. Drouacharye and Kerpacharye were there, whom Creeshna saluted with Nemeskar; and the eight Nayega were introduced to Koontee and to Dropeda, &c. Rajah Judishter appointed magnificent lodgings and entertainment for all the Yadavas, at the same time making many apologies for the inadequacy of accommodation, and saying that he was exalted to heaven by their arrival. Thus they passed some months in pleasure and delight; *but the moments of happiness are never counted.*

During this period, Rajah Judishter held an assembly, in which he seated Creeshna above himself; and many famous Gooroos and all the four casts were there also. At this assembly Judishter reminded Creeshna of his intention to perform the Raisoo-Yug with his aid, of which he did not doubt from his constant kindness to him; although he sometimes *did* entertain doubts whether one man could be preferred to another in the eyes of him who was the Creator of the world: still, however, he conceived, that, as *here* there was this difference, that one man necessarily had occasion for another's assistance, and with Creeshna there could not possibly exist the want of aid from any one, so those who faithfully addressed themselves to him obtained the completion of their desires. Creeshna desired him to make himself perfectly easy and satisfied on the subject; that, since he had now expressed publicly his wish to perform the Raisoo-Yug, and his enemies had notice of his intentions, the Creator would certainly make the matter easy to him. That, certainly, though preparations for that Yug were exceedingly difficult, yet he was to be commended for the intention; since Devatas, and Reyshees, and Muni-Eswaras, and Peetrees, were all anxious for that Yug, which ennobles the name of the

celebrator for ever. "Now, then," said he, "the necessaries for the Yug must be prepared; and, first, the monarchs and warriors of all the four quarters must be reduced to your subjection. Your four brothers, who excel the Devatas in glory and renown, will soon cause your authority to be acknowledged in all the four quarters; and even I, who am confined by no one, yet hold myself bound by friendship and esteem for you. Take courage, therefore, and commence the Yug." Judishter, elated by Creeshna's kindness, sent his brothers to the four quarters accordingly; and, in a fortunate moment, Bheema took his way to the west; Arjoon to the north; Nacul, bright as the sun, to the east; and Sehedeva drew his sword to the south. In a small space of time they subdued the rajahs on every side, except only Jarasandha, and brought back with them prodigious booty. After these atchievements, Judishter, in conference with Creeshna, stated the difficulty of overcoming Jarasandha; that, without his submission, the Yug could not properly be denominated Raisoo, and begged his advice. In this interview Oodhoo gave it as his opinion that Jarasandha was superior to all the other monarchs, and that Judishter could not subdue him by *force*. He proposed, therefore, to make use of stratagem, and recommended that Creeshna, and Bheema, and Arjoon, should go to Jarasandha in the habit of Brahmins: he said that Jarasandha had no rival in liberality, so that if any religious mendicant should demand even his life, he would instantly lay it down for him: that, when those three addressed him in the habit of Brahmins, and demanded Dhermejoodhe, he would not turn away from their request. "Liberality," said he to Judishter, "is the first duty of monarchs; *all that we behold will perish, but the name of the liberal man will endure for ever!*" Creeshna, Bheema, and Arjoon, accordingly set off from Hastanapoor in the dress of Zennardars, and addressed themselves to Jarasandha in the name

of Narayen. Jarasandha, the instant he saw them, knew by their speech, the marks of their bodies, and by Arjoon's thumb, (worn by the bow-string,) that they were not Brahmins, but princes of some kingdom; yet he said to them, "O Brahmins! whatever ye desire, whatever the hand of mendicity can grasp at, be it a Geda or even a whole kingdom, I shall not turn from your demand: but, as Rajah Bali was driven by the foot of the Bamun-Avatar beneath the earth, yet did not turn his face from Dherme, although warned by Sookra that his suppliant was not a Brahmin; so I, too, fully persuaded that ye are not Brahmins, will yet bestow on you whatever you request." Creeshna stepped forward and demanded Sengram: "And if," said he, "thou dost not perfectly know us, lo! this is Bheema, and this Arjoon, and I am their cousin." Jarasandha looked towards his courtiers and smiled, bidding them admire the insolence of this cowherd, whom he had already so often caused to run away, happy to have saved his life, and who now demanded another battle. "Well," said he, "I will give you Sengram. You formerly escaped from my hand, and saved your life in the sea; but whither will you now go to save it? Yet it is a disgrace to me to fight with one whom I have already defeated. As to Arjoon, delicately formed as he is, he will certainly never pretend to cope with me in battle; but Bheema seems in vigour and good case, if he hath but courage to meet me." Jarasandha then summoned his whole army, and, divesting Bheema of his Brahmin's dress, asked him with what weapon he chose to engage. Bheema chose the mace. Jarasandha immediately put one into his hand and armed himself with another: and now, first addressing Nemeskar to himself, (as to a god,) and then kissing his hand, he advanced towards Bheema, and the engagement commenced. They were equal in strength, and their maces so violently crashed together as they fought, that the concave of heaven was rent by the sound.

Creeshna and Arjoon thought Bheema would soon conquer ; Jarasandha's people thought the same of their master ; but they still kept their equality, and saved themselves from the blows of the battle-axes, which were all broke to pieces by their hands of adamant. After the maces, they tried their strength with other weapons ; and at last, when the armory was exhausted, they fought with their fists. It appeared as if they had both learned the science of the pugilist under one master, so equal was their skill. In this manner they passed twenty-seven days, fighting the whole day and in the evening performing Sendhya, eating together like brothers and sleeping under the same roof. Bheema, by signs, gave Creeshna to understand that he thought it hard to be exposed to all the danger and mischief, while Creeshna himself remained a quiet spectator ; that this contest with Jarasandha began to be too much for him, his ribs being all bruised and broken with the blows of his fists, while Creeshna suffered no inconvenience whatever ; and that he would very willingly retreat; but a sense of shame restrained him. Arjoon, on this, was in great terror ; his face became of a yellow paleness, and he said, in his heart "Would to heaven that Rajah Judishter had never thought of this Yug!" Creeshna answered Bheema's signs by others as expressive; signifying that it was wrong to grieve or repent now a difficult affair was actually on his hands : then rising from his seat, he took up a blade of grass, and, in his view, split it in two down the middle ; meaning, in this manner you must rend asunder the body of your antagonist. Bheema was overjoyed at this : his strength became suddenly augmented, and he felt that he had got the remedy in his hands. Thus inspired with new vigour, he seized Jarasandha by the foot, and threw him to the ground. If it be demanded by what means Bheema now became so superior in strength to Jarasandha after they had for so many days been an equal match for each other, the answer is, that Jarasandha perceived his death

to be approaching by Creeshna's signals; he found that his adversary had comprehended the means of his speedy destruction; and that, in consequence, a weakness had seized all his limbs, as is always the case with men before their death. Bheema was the conqueror, and we must praise the acts of the Creator. Thus then it was: Bheema put one of Jarasandha's feet beneath his own foot, and took the other foot in his hand; then, with one prodigious effort, tore him in halves from the base of the chine to the crown of the head, so that one half fell bleeding to the ground, and the other remained quivering under his foot. Creeshna and Arjoon applauded Bheema, and the Devatas hailed him with a shower of flowers from heaven, while men remained astonished spectators of the event. Creeshna, for the purpose of completing the Yug of Judishter, crowned Sehedeva, the son of Jarasandha, immediately in his father's place, and did all he could to console him. He descanted on the fickleness of fortune and the rapidity of human vicissitudes; observing to him that it was the decree of fate that Jarasandha should thus perish, and that he ought rather to grieve for his own continuance in life than for his father's death, since he too must at some time go the same road. "Now, therefore," said he, "ascend thy father's throne, young prince, and release the many rajahs whom he kept in confinement."

THE LIFE OF CREESHNA.

PART THE THIRD.

TWENTY thousand and eight hundred rajahs of eminence, who had been taken by Jarasandha, as men take beasts of the chase, were now released from confinement. They had long indulged secret, but vain, hopes that their children and friends would have come to their aid; but, finding none able to help them, they had at last looked up to Creeshna, whose name and miracles they had heard of while in prison, as their only resource. On obtaining their liberty they immediately recognized their benefactor from the description they had heard of his person, viz. the Incarnate, conspicuous with Geda, and Chakra, and Kemel, with a brilliant Koondel in his ear, and valuable chains of pearl around his neck, a yellow robe circling his waist, and a crown of peacock's feathers on his head; and, all squalid as they were and overrun with unseemly hair, they threw themselves at his feet, uttering the most lively expressions of gratitude, and calling him, amongst other titles, Madhoo.* Creeshna expressed himself perfectly satisfied with their repentance from the errors of their former pride before their misfortunes, assuring them that he had more regard for those who *turned their minds towards him after wicked conduct*, than even for

* Madhoo means slayer of Madhoo Ditya. See Mahabbarat, 13 perb. p. 474.—Halhed.

*devotees and penitents who had passed their whole lives in prayer and austerity.** He then dismissed them free and happy to their several provinces, and himself proceeded leisurely on to Hastanapoor. Rajah Judishter came out and conducted him with all honour into the city, and Koontee praised him exceedingly for having thus secured the celebration of Judishter's Yug; but Bheema, smiling, told his mother that Creeshna had set very quietly by in a corner, while all the hardship of combating Jarasandha had fallen upon himself. Creeshna admitted the fact, but mentioned the hints he had given Bheema for tearing Jarasandha asunder. Judishter, in the mean time, could not contain his satisfaction, which found its way through his eyes in tears; while Creeshna, as the younger of the two, laid his head at the feet of Judishter.

Judishter endeavoured to express his thanks to Creeshna, since now, by the exertions of his friendship and benevolence, he beheld all the wish of his heart accomplished: wherefore, he summoned from every quarter Brahmins learned in the Vedas and skilled in the rites of Yugs; as well as many rajahs from the most distant countries, some brought thither by force of arms and others in the way of friendship, with their sons and suite; and of Brahmins, Khettrees, Vysyas, and Soodras, an innumerable multitude. The vessels for the celebration of the Yug were all of gold. Rajah Judishter, throwing off the clothes from his breast, remained covered with a single piece of cloth, *i. e.* he became Pootree; and, giving into the hands of the Zennardars a string of gold, began the Yug. All mankind were astonished at the profusion of gold and wealth that was displayed, but the wiser few knew that wherever Creeshna was present, there could be no deficiency whatever. Rajah

* Here is evidently another imitation of the *genuine Gospel;* for, it contains a sentiment not congenial with the theological code of the Brahmins; in which, although repentance can obtain heaven, the most brilliant rewards are assigned to persevering austerity.

Judishter, with his head bare, and holding in his two hands the sacred grass *Cusa*, performed the Pooja; then, calling on the name of Narayen, turned towards Creeshna and smiled, expressively intimating that all this was entirely the fruit of his kindness, and that all he did was for HIM. Judishter addressed the elders of his family, requesting of them to give their advice in a matter of such infinite consequence as this Yug, to *whom* Pooja should be first addressed. No one had yet spoken to the subject; when Sahadeva, Judishter's youngest brother, rose, and, with great modesty and respect, observed, "That this was a question which had been asked by one who well saw and knew the proper answer; that there was no room nor necessity for a question; that the Pooja should certainly be first addressed to Creeshna; that, as well by the institutes of the Vedas as by the decision of all the learned, Pooja to Shree-Creeshna was the same as Pooja to all the Devatas, just *as watering the root of a tree affords moisture to the whole plant.* That He was the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer, all in one, and that, merely on hearing the Shree-Bhagavat, the soul was purified from all its crimes; therefore, when *he* was present, none else could be worthy. That the earth was in the nature of a body, of which *he* was the soul; and that, for his own part, he should worship none but *him*." Creeshna requested Sahadeva not to proceed in this adulatory strain; but the audience all applauded and encouraged him. Rajah Judishter was overjoyed that this proposition had succeeded exactly in conformity to his wishes, *washed Creeshna's feet, and threw that water over his own head and eyes;* after that, he washed the feet of the eight Nayega and of Oodhoo, and, in the same manner, cast it on his head; and, arranging before him the finest clothes and precious chains, with all the other apparatus, performed the Pooja, and humbled his head in the dust of Creeshna's foot. After this he performed Pooja to all the Devatas

and all the Yadavas. While Judishter was thus performing the Pooja to Shree-Bhagavan, it rained flowers from the sky, and Devatas uttered praises, and men proffered Aservad, for his sake. But Rajah Seesoopal, son of Rajah Demkhook, burnt with grief and anger, and, with fiery eyes, starting up from his seat, made a long philippic against Creeshna; first inveighing against the Brahmins and others for listening to the proposition of one of the youngest in the assembly; then adding, "that he did not advise the Pooja to be addressed to himself, but to some of the noble persons or learned Reyshees, of whom there were many present infinitely more worthy than the object of their choice: that they did not offer the Ahoot Howm to the fire and the Zennardars, but brought it to this crow (alluding to his black colour): that the person who forsook the Vedas, to choose a different religion for himself, was not to be ranked among their objects of veneration: that they must have heard that the Yadavas were under the Srap (curse) of a holy Reyshee, which denounced they should never wear the diadem; how then could they be addressed with Pooja? That a man who could quit such holy places as Mathura, Gaya, and other Teerthes, to make a settlement on the sea-side, and establish there a seminary of plunder and robbery, from which to dispatch banditti to other kingdoms and provinces, could not be allowed to possess any sort of nobility." In these, and other words of a similar malignant purport, did Seesoopal vent his rage, while Creeshna, by signs, prevented all the persons present from interrupting him. However, his insolence was no longer to be borne, and most of them got up and retired to one side, as not thinking it decent or worthy of them to hear such abuse of Creeshna, nor choosing to participate in the crime incurred thereby. Bheema and his brothers, rising hastily, seized their arms, and attempted to kill Seesoopal, who, on his side, prepared for the conflict; but Creeshna

interfered and prevented a battle, lest it should throw the Yug into confusion, and desired Bheema neither himself to interrupt him nor to suffer others to do so. After Seesoopal had thus a hundred times vilified Creeshna, the latter cut off his head with his Chakra; a flame of fire then issued from Seesoopal's head, which for a time hovering about in the air, at last entered Creeshna's mouth, where it subsided; and his army fled away in the greatest consternation. Rajah Judishter, after the close of the Yug, made great presents to the Brahmins, and from that day became rajah of rajahs. Creeshna staid some months in Hastanapoor, and at length took leave and went to Dwaraka, which Judishter consented to with much reluctance.

Judishter's younger brothers were all very dutiful to their senior, performing whatever he enjoined, whether it were agreeable to them or not, without repining; every thing of difficulty that was undertaken was by Creeshna's directions; the care of less important matters devolved on Bheema. Arjoon had the department of attending to the great men and all the rajahs, in whatever concerned them. Dropeda managed the affairs of provision, by the consent and agreement of her brother. Beder had the arrangement of the assembly, and Kerne the care of the expense. On the day that the Yug was completed, Creeshna, in the fulness of his beneficence, was present in one place with all the Devatas, and Reyshees and Brahmins, and Rajahs, and they carried Rajah Judishter to the banks of the Ganges. Brahmins chanted the Vedas, and Rajah Judishter bathed, while flowers rained from heaven upon his head. There was an endless variety of music and singing. All men rejoiced, and dressed themselves in their most sumptuous apparel, and perfumed themselves with sandal, and saffron, and sweet waters. The women, who, buried in Harams, were seldom permitted to see the sun, came out on that day to view Rajah Ju-

dishter. Even the inhabitants of Soorg were all delighted with the news of that Yug; and so prodigious were the crowds which were collected together in Hastanapoor, on account of it, that the earth groaned beneath their weight; while all, with one voice, gave glory to Creeshna, for having procured the celebration of so magnificent a festival. The Yadavas were struck with astonishment at beholding the beauty of the inhabitants of Hastanapoor, having before conceived that nothing in the world was equal to Dwaraka. The assembled rajahs were deeply grieved to quit Rajah Judishter, but one necessity or another at length carried them all to their own homes. Every individual of the human race has some desire or other ungratified; but Judishter, by the kindness of Creeshna, attained to the completion of all his wishes. Doorjoodhen was fretted to the soul at his celebrity and renown, and was for ever nourishing ill designs against him. Creeshna, to torment Doorjoodhen the more, ordered the eight Nayega to pay all kind of respect and service to Dropeda; and, on her sitting down or rising up, the Devatas became mad with admiration at the tinkling that proceeded from the golden bells that adorned her feet and ancles; while the reflection of every colour of jewels on her polished cheeks, where-ever it fell, exhibited a variety of beauty. All these circumstances greatly incensed the jealous mind of Doorjoodhen, but his fury was wrought to the highest pitch by the following incident: The lofty edifice which formed Judishter's council chamber was erected by Maya the Ditya; it consisted entirely of polished chrystal, embellished with jewels, so that, from the clearness of the chrystal, those parts, which were perfectly dry, appeared full of water; and, where there was really water, in vast chrystalline recesses, all appeared dry. Rajah Judishter one day holding a council in this magnificent apartment, Doorjoodhen with his brother came thither; and, imagining he was approaching water, though the

place was perfectly dry, started back, and extended the golden wand, which he held in his hand, to explore if it really were water before him. Bheema at this instantly burst out into a loud laughter, nor could all Judishter's authority restrain him, so ludicrous was the spectacle. Doorjoodhen was exceedingly ashamed and affronted, and went away from the council in great wrath. All this was Creeshna's sport; but, as it was his intention to put to death altogether in one place a number of those wicked tyrants, by whose weight the earth was oppressed, he for the present overlooked it, while Doorjoodhen, by his secret destination, grew daily more inveterate in his malicious and treacherous designs.*

At the time that Rajah Seesoopal went to Gundenpoor to marry Rokemenee, and when Creeshna stole her away from the midst of all the assembled rajahs, among the number was Rajah Sal, a particular friend of Seesoopal, who swore, that if he did not root out the very name of the Yadavas, he would be no more a Khettree. He too was one of those who, with Seesoopal, pursued Creeshna, and who, on dire experience of Creeshna's might, turned back and fled, glad to escape with his life. But this oath always remained at the bottom of his mind; and, when Creeshna slew Seesoopal, Sal was again exceedingly irritated, and felt the weight of his former oath like a mill-stone round his neck, esteeming life itself no longer tolerable, if he could not revenge his friend's death. But how to

* This incident is differently related in Baldæus, with the addition of a most cutting speech to the eldest son of the blind and feeble monarch of Hindostan, who, in fact, by that blindness, was legally incapacitated from reigning; and the throne of which, therefore, by right belonged to the oppressed Yadavas.—"It had happened some time before, that Doorjoodhen, being in Judishter's palace, looked into Dropeda's apartment, which, being paved with glass, (a thing he never had seen before, he took it for water, and would not venture to go in. Dropeda, perceiving his error, exclaimed, 'How! are the sons like the father! Is the whole family BLIND?' which put Doorjoodhen into such a rage, that he swore he would revenge it the first opportunity." Baldæus, p. 881.

effect it was the question. After much consideration, he concluded, it could only be done by the assistance of the Devatas; and as Mahadeva is the chief of them, he began a most rigorous course of mortification, in which, after fasting the whole day, he took no other sustenance in the evening than a handful of earth. This austerity lasted a whole year; and then Mahadeva appeared to him, and bid him name his desire, and it should be gratified. He demanded revenge on his enemies. Roodra promised it, and vanished. After this, Rajah Sal built a city, and fortified the castle of it in the most complete manner, to serve as an asylum in the day of danger; and then, taking with him a great army, went to Dwaraka. The first effort of his fury was to cut down all the trees and plants in the suburbs; then, forcing the city-gate, and raising a lofty (temporary) structure that commanded the city itself, he began to practice all the arts of sorcery, in which he was an adept. He caused it to rain stones from heaven, he raised tempestuous hurricanes that bore down every thing before them, houses, temples, palaces; and, by these means, he threw all Dwaraka into confusion. Predemne, in Creeshna's absence, was governor of the city, and exerted his utmost endeavours to soothe and tranquillize the inhabitants, telling them, that all their troubles would certainly be assuaged by the blessing of Him who had taken on himself a mundane existence, for the purpose of lightening the burthens of the earth. Predemne then mounted his chariot, and after him came Satek, and Chardeshe, and Behane, and others, followed by a very great crowd of warriors. Sal, then, by his magical power, rendered the air so completely dark, that a man could not see his own hand. Predemne, on this, discharged a fire-dart, which instantly dissipated the obscurity. Sal and Predemne then recognized each other; and Predemne, on seeing him, shot an arrow, which felled his standard-bearer to the ground, while the driver met the same fate from ano-

exclaimed, "Now, Creeshna, will I slay your father before your face!" Accordingly, drawing his sword, he instantly cut off the counterfeit Vasudeva's head. Creeshna was dreadfully perplexed, and in doubt whether this was all real or by the force of Maya; and for the space of one Mhooret, his understanding was utterly confused; but, on coming to his reflection, he assured himself that it was all Maya-Vee-Maya. So he pursued Sal, who took to the air, and Creeshna went through the air after him. Creeshna soon overtook Sal, and annihilated all his Maya; from thence he went to his city and castle, which he had also fortified by the power of Maya, and, with a heavy battle-axe, softened all Sal's bones, and broke in pieces his city and castle. In this manner did he strike Sal a hundred times with his battle-axe, and he, at every stroke, broke Creeshna's weapon. Several times Sal fell down with the force of the repeated blows, but again rose up, and returned to the charge. At last, Creeshna struck him so violently with a spear, that, pressing clean through one arm, it fixed in his chest, and even pinned down his other arm: after which, he cut off his head with his crown on, and a shining Koondel in his ear, and threw his city into the river. The Devatas in Deva-Loke made great rejoicing at his fate. Denteebektre, who had been exceedingly affected with his brother Seesoopal's death, was now doubly enraged at the slaughter of their dearest friend, Rajah Sal, and made mighty preparations, and levied a strong army against Creeshna.

Creeshna had not yet set out for Dwaraka, when Denteebektre, vowing vengeance, came to the very place where Rajah Sal had been slain. The Yadavas, aware of his prowess, were all exceedingly alarmed, and Denteebektre, with a battle-axe in his hand, coming close to Creeshna, began to upbraid him with the fate of his brother and his friend, and, collecting all his strength [illegible] a blow at him; but Creeshna, at that instant, stru[illegible]ly

told their master. When, therefore, Creeshna came nigh, Sal stepped forward, and meeting him, and lifting on high a glittering spear, was on the point of aiming it at Creeshna's driver; but he had not yet launched it, when Creeshna snapt it in his hand with an arrow. Sal, violently enraged, shot an arrow, which broke Creeshna's bow with a crash that resounded to heaven, and he now began to triumph as in certain victory, exclaiming aloud, "O Creeshna! dost thou remember the day when thou didst steal Rokemenee from Rajah Seesoopal, my beloved friend, and afterwards how thou didst stain Judishter's Yug with his blood? For these acts I am this day going to take revenge. It is useless for thee to bemoan thy inferiority; stand firm, nor attempt to flee, for there is no road open for retreat." Creeshna rebuked him for his idle boasting, and taking his Geda, aimed it so forcibly at Sal, that he vanished away, and for two hours was utterly invisible. At the expiration of that period, he appeared before Creeshna in the dress of a messenger, having changed his natural form for another, and, with his hair all clotted with dirt, and speaking with the voice of one out of breath, he said, "O Creeshna! Vasudeva, your noble father, sent me hither to acquaint you that he knows you came into the world for the relief of the oppressed and the support of the weak; yet, in spite of this, Rajah Sal has taken that father prisoner, and is carrying him off." Creeshna was wonderfully struck with this event, yet thought that perhaps it was true. This mistake, indeed, is not reconcilable with Creeshna's omniscience, but *it is a mark of his taking on himself the exact state of human life, that such opinions should occupy his mind.* In this interval, Rajah Sal, by Maya, formed a counterfeit Vasudeva, and caused him to appear upon that spot, making him utter these words: "O Creeshna! with so godlike a son as you, is it not lamentable that your father should be in so wretched a plight?" Sal, in his own shape,

exclaimed, "Now, Creeshna, will I slay your father before your face!" Accordingly, drawing his sword, he instantly cut off the counterfeit Vasudeva's head. Creeshna was dreadfully perplexed, and in doubt whether this was all real or by the force of Maya; and for the space of one Mhooret, his understanding was utterly confused; but, on coming to his reflection, he assured himself that it was all Maya-Vee-Maya. So he pursued Sal, who took to the air, and Creeshna went through the air after him. Creeshna soon overtook Sal, and annihilated all his Maya; from thence he went to his city and castle, which he had also fortified by the power of Maya, and, with a heavy battle-axe, softened all Sal's bones, and broke in pieces his city and castle. In this manner did he strike Sal a hundred times with his battle-axe, and he, at every stroke, broke Creeshna's weapon. Several times Sal fell down with the force of the repeated blows, but again rose up, and returned to the charge. At last, Creeshna struck him so violently with a spear, that, pressing clean through one arm, it fixed in his chest, and even pinned down his other arm: after which, he cut off his head with his crown on, and a shining Koondel in his ear, and threw his city into the river. The Devatas in Deva-Loke made great rejoicing at his fate. Denteebektre, who had been exceedingly affected with his brother Seesoopal's death, was now doubly enraged at the slaughter of their dearest friend, Rajah Sal, and made mighty preparations, and levied a strong army against Creeshna.

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on the breast with his Geda, that his soul immediately parted from his body; and a flame of fire issuing from his head, ascended into the air, whence it came back and went into Creeshna's mouth, where it was quenched. Denteebektre had a younger brother, named *Vederoothe*, who also attempted to risk a battle, but Creeshna cut his head off with Sodharsan-Chakra. After the death of these three persons, the Devatas launched out in praise of Creeshna, and the Muni-Eswaras and Reyshees were unbounded in their panegyrics; and all the intelligent were fully convinced that he was Perebrahme-Pooraun-Poorash, while those of confined understandings, whose ideas were circumscribed by the mere limits of the senses only, conceived that he had gained a victory, (as any other mortal might have done,) and that there might exist another who would have vanquished him; but, in fact, whatever exists is HE, and all these notions are the fantasies and sport of Maya, or self-delusion.

Soodaman, a poor Brahmin and fellow-student with Creeshna under his tutor Sendeepen, by the instigation of his wife, about this time paid a visit of respect to Creeshna at Dwaraka, having nothing with him for a present except one handful of rice. Creeshna received him most affectionately, and, in his absence, transformed his cottage to a palace, and his wife to a beauty; gave him a large sum in money, and, at his death, rendered him Mooktee (beatified).

One day, Dropeda requested the eight Nayega to give her an account of their several marriages, which they did in their turns, relating their history as in the former chapters, except that of Lekshema, which is not there inserted, and is as follows:— Lekshema informed Dropeda, that she had one day heard Nared give a description of Creeshna to her father, and he had painted him in such lively colours, that, from the same moment, she fell violently in love with him, and was determined to marry no other.

Her father, however, erected a Soombere (a pavilion) for her, and in the middle of the Soombere was placed a butt or target, and on the top of the butt a fish, with this express condition, that whoever should make his arrow hit the fish, by taking aim through a vessel of water, should have her for a wife; and all the rajahs and chiefs, who came to court her, were introduced into the Soombere, and a bow and arrow were put into their hands. Rajah Magende, and Bheema, and Doorjoodhen, and Kerne, and others, exerted their strongest efforts in vain. "Creeshna, the master of all hearts, knew the secret wish of my heart, took his aim through the vase of water, and easily hit the fish. When I put the Mooktee-Mala round Creeshna's neck, all the others burnt with rage; but Creeshna lifted me into his carriage, and Darek drove us away with the utmost rapidity. His rivals followed us in chariots and on elephants, and their fleetest horses; but, on his very first attack, they all faced about and fled. Thence Creeshna, like the sun bursting from Oodachel to perform his western journey, went to Dwaraka, the beauty of which is not now to be described. My father sent a magnificent portion after me, but I do not presume to call myself his wife; I am one of his humble attendants and slaves."—After this, the other 16,000 wives related, one by one, the history of their captivity under Bhoom-Assoor, together with the death of that tyrant by the hand of Creeshna, and added, that, from that time, they were become the lowest of his slaves.

Towards the close of Creeshna's sojourning among mortals, Vasudeva and Devaci began fully to comprehend the divine character of Creeshna, and acknowledged him for the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, of the world; for, before they had been prevented from understanding by the power of Maya. After Creeshna had one day satisfied Vasudeva on this head, he went with Ram to see his mother Devaci, who received them with the

tenderest affection, and told them, she had heard how they had raised the two sons of their tutor Sendeepen to life; that she, too, had at least the pretensions of their tutor with three times the loss; that she now required of them the six sons which Cansa had slain, and who had left six deep wounds in her heart, which nothing but their presence could heal. Creeshna and Balhadur, smiling, told her, that they would bring back her sons upon one condition, which was, that she should not set her heart too strongly on them, but be satisfied with seeing them once more. Thereupon, in sight of their mother, they went into the earth, and, passing through, came to the nether world. Rajah Bali, hearing of their approach, met them with great ceremony, and accommodated them with all possible attention; and, after every testimony of reverence and respect, requested to know the cause of his being honoured with the visit of the Lord of the three worlds. Creeshna now began an account of former times, and informed him, "that, in the house of Mereechee, had been born of the seed of Brahma six sons; and, a second time, the same six sons were born in the house of Hiranyacasipu. The same were also again born in the house of Kal-Neeme, and in that life inflicted much vexation and infinite troubles on holy men and Devatas, who therefore fixed this curse on them: 'As ye now give so much molestation to us, may your own father be your murderer!' Kal-Neeme was an Avatar of Cansa, and these six sons did Devaci, the sister of Cansa bring into the world, who have all been slain by Cansa. Devaci is our mother also, and has obtained of me permission once more to behold her children. I have heard that they are in your kingdom, being now released from the curse of the Devatas. These are their names: Semer, Kehe, Bergoon, Chhoodre, Derkheren, Tebeek. Inquire after them, that I may shew them to their mother, and that, after a sight of her, they may go to paradise." Rajah Bali instantly

dispatched some servants to look for them, and in one hour they were all brought to Creeshna, who, taking them under his arm, and kindly accepting all Rajah Bali had set before him, came up from beneath the earth to the place in Dwaraka where Devaci was sitting, in anxious expectation to behold her children, and presented the six little ones to their mother. The instant she saw her sons *the milk began to flow from her breasts*, and, after gratefully thanking Creeshna and Balhadur, she hugged them to her bosom, and kissed their foreheads, and suckled them with milk *from the very same breast which had once nourished Creeshna*. All that she had formerly promised as the condition of seeing them was now overturned, and Creeshna was obliged to desire her to suspend her fondness, and be calm, that they might take their departure for paradise. Devaci acknowledged his kindness in having procured for her a sight which *it was not otherwise possible to behold*, and submitted. The children having drunk of Devaci's milk, and having Creeshna's hand also passed over their bodies, became immortal, and all appeared in the figure of Creeshna, with a shining Koondel and Mookete. They then mounted on an eagle, resembling Creeshna's; afterwards, falling at his and Ram's feet, and paying Nemeskar to Vasudeva and Devaci also, they set off for paradise, in the sight of all the people. Devaci exclaimed, that, having now seen her dead sons revived, and on the way to paradise, she was well assured that she also herself should speedily go thither.

Distinctly to mark the equal regard with which the Deity observes all his devout worshippers of every rank and class, Creeshna one morning set out with a great suite of Devatas for TIRHUT, for the express purpose of exhibiting the marks of his divine favour to Bhoolamen, the rajah of that place, and also to one Mhooret-Deva, a poor Brahmin inhabitant of the same city, both of whom where his most zealous devotees. When he arrived there, knowing

that their faith and religious merits were upon par, although their station and circumstances were widely different, he was solicitous not to appear to give the one a preference above the other, nor let either feel himself slighted. He, therefore, made a double representation of himself, both Avatars exactly similar, so that the rajah, who received him with all the pomp and splendor of royalty, and with magnificent presents of exquisite clothes, chains, and strings of pearls, &c. conceived *himself* the most favoured of mortals, in having the divine personage under his own roof; while the humble Brahmin, no less overjoyed, was laying his unaffected offerings of the choicest fruits and strings of sweet flowers before the very same Creeshna at the same moment in his own house. Creeshna, at the earnest instances of the rajah, stayed some time with him in his magnificent palace to fortify his devotion, and all the inhabitants of Tirhut were eased of their doubts and perplexities by his presence: at the same time he was daily present in the lowly cottage of Mhooret-Deva, receiving grateful prayers and thanksgivings, with the greatest condescension and benevolence. After some time thus employed, Creeshna returned to Dwaraka, and the Brahmin accompanied him a considerable way on the journey.

Terek-Assoor one day demanded of Nared, which of the three Devatas, Brahma, Veeshnu, and Mahadeva, was to be propitiated with the least worship? Nared answered, Mahadeva; who presently grants whatever is desired by those who worship him with their whole heart. Accordingly, Terek-Assoor became a most zealous worshipper of Mahadeva, to obtain his own particular purposes. But Mahadeva shewed him no signs of encouragement; the Ditya, however, redoubled his austerities in such a manner, that, in the space of seven days, he cut off all the flesh from his own body with a knife, and burnt it in the fire; and, after those

seven days, was preparing to cut off his own head also, as a propitiatory sacrifice. Mahadeva at length appeared to him, and took hold of his hand, by which his flesh was instantly restored to its former state, and told him, that, whatever was his wish, it should be granted. At the same time he demanded why he had proceeded to such severe austerities, declaring, that, whoever in sincerity sacrificed to him, even with water, obtained the object of his desires. Terek-Assoor demanded, "that on whose head soever he should lay his hand, that person might be reduced instantly to ashes." On hearing this extraordinary request, (which of course was immediately granted,) fear came on the world, and Mahadeva himself also recollecting the story of the black snake, who prepared to bite his benefactor on the very day he had fed him with milk, and concluding the Ditya had a mind to make experiment of his power, by laying his hand on Mahadeva's own head, fled hastily away. Terek-Assoor following him at full speed, Mahadeva made the circuit of the seven stages of the earth and the seven stages of heaven, but no one was able to protect him from his pursuer, so he urged his flight back again to paradise. There Narayen, taking pity on his situation, came immediately forth to comfort him, and assuming, by the force of his Maya, the figure of a beautiful woman, met the exasperated Ditya, and, with a delicate voice, asked what was the reason of his running so fast? adding, that if he had placed any confidence in Mahadeva's promises, he was woefully deceived; for that, ever since the day when that deity had interrupted Dekshe's Yug, Dekshe had uttered a curse against him, and from that time Mahadeva's words never produced any effect. That he had only to put his hand on his own head, and he might depend on finding Mahadeva's promise to be utterly false. On hearing the soft speeches of this enchanter of the world and its inhabitants, Terek-Assoor put his hand on his own

head, and was instantly reduced to ashes by the touch. Jeye! Jeye! resounded through paradise on his death, and it rained flowers from heaven, since the evil which he destined in his heart for another fell upon himself. Mahadeva, overjoyed at his escape, came out from his lurking-place, and retired to his palace at Kylass.

A similar question was once proposed by the Reyshees and Muni-Eswaras, as they were at a certain time performing a Yug near the river Saraswatty. These holy men demanded of Bhreegoo, whether Brahma, Veeshnu, or Mahadeva, were most worthy to be worshipped, that they and all the people might address their devotions accordingly? Bhreegoo said, he would first try all the three, and then inform them. In consequence, he went first to Brahma, and addressed him with the salutations proper from a son to his father,* to see what kind of temper and patience he possessed. Brahma at first grew angry, and accused him of want of ceremony, but was soon appeased; and his son perceived he was like fire and water, alternately hot and cold. Bhreegoo, in the second place, went to Mahadeva's abode: Mahadeva rose up, and was going to embrace him, but Bhreegoo would not let him approach, and made use of very disrespectful language. Mahadeva drew himself up in wrath, and, snatching up his trident, rushed forward with intent to kill him; but Parvati interfered, and falling at her husband's feet, pacified his anger. Bhreegoo hastily retreating thence, went to the place called Vaicontha, the lord of which is Veeshnu. Him he found sleeping on the lap of the universe, or Leckshmeen. Bhreegoo, on seeing him, struck him forcibly with his foot on the breast. Veeshnu started up, and taking hold of the foot, said, "This breast of mine is extremely hard, and your foot very tender; un-

* Bhreegoo was one of the sons of Brahma, and the promulger of the Vedas.

undoubtedly it must be much hurt." With these and other kind words, mollifying his wrath, he entreated Bhreegoo to stay a little time, and honour his abode with his presence, adding, that he was sorry he had been taken unawares from being ignorant of his approach, entreated his pardon, and hoped his foot would not be injured by so violent a blow. Bhreegoo, weeping for joy at this kind reception, went away, exclaiming, "This surely is the true Lord of the three worlds!" He now returned to the Reyshees, and told them, "Veeshnu for certain was the deity most benignant and worthy of adoration; that he was the Omnipotent, and that, whosoever with heart and soul should address his vows to him, would obtain all he desired." This same Veeshnu is Creeshna; the same who exhibited to Arjoon his own exalted might on the following occasion.

A Brahmin of Dwaraka, who had lost eight sons in their youth, was so transported with grief, that he went one day into the assembly where Creeshna, Arjoon, and the other Yadavas were sitting, and, without the least ceremony, boldly accused their crimes as the cause that the children of Brahmins died so immaturely. Creeshna said nothing; but Arjoon exclaimed with a loud voice, "O Brahmin! is there none here skilful at the bow? That rajah is not a true Khettree, in whose city a Brahmin should have such cause of mourning. What is past, indeed, cannot be recalled; but I myself will guard your children in future. In my time no such event shall take place, and I will throw myself into the fire if I cannot prevent it." The Brahmin told Arjoon, that he talked very presumptuously, since he certainly was not so able a bowman as Balhadur, Creeshna, Predemne, and others, who had not hitherto succeeded. Arjoon replied, that neither Creeshna, nor Predemne, nor Aneroodhe, nor any other Khettree, could prevail against his own famous bow Gandeeva; that he had compelled Mahadeva

himself to acknowledge his superior skill in shooting; and should have no difficulty whatever in opposing Yama (the king of Hades). The Brahmin on this returned home, and, when his wife was again in labour, failed not to inform Arjoon, who, bathing himself, and calling upon the name of Bhagavan, and taking up his bow Gan-deeva, so completely nailed up the Brahmin's door with arrows, that, on all the six sides, there remained not a single opening where even the air could enter: and there he stood watching with his bow and arrows ready in his hand, but could see nothing. On the former occasions the child came out (of his mother's womb) when dead, but now even the dead child was vanished through the air. The father wept and mourned, and, going to Creeshna, abused Arjoon in the most unqualified terms for his idle boasting; and Arjoon was so much ashamed, that he said he would go and fetch the Brahmin's son away from Yama himself. But though he went thither, and also to Eendre-Pooree, and other Poorees, he could get no tidings whatsoever of the child; so, coming back to the earth, after a fruitless search in extreme affliction, he collected a heap of faggots, and, setting them on fire, was going to cast himself into the flames. Creeshna seeing this, took him by the hand, and said *he* had news of the Brahmin's son, and that they must go together and fetch him from a place whither neither his own hand nor Arjoon's could reach. So they mounted a carriage together, and went towards the west, and, passing all the seven climates and all the stages of the universe, came to that profound and palpable darkness, where there is no admission of the sun, or the moon, or fire. As they had now no other means of proceeding, Soodharsan-Chakra*

* "In the Persian translation of the Bhagavat," meaning the present, says Sir William Jones, "Creeshna is said to have descended with his favorite Arjoon to the seat of the Stygian Jove of India, from whom he instantly obtained the favour which he requested, that the souls of a Brahmin's six sons, who had been slain in battle, might re-animate their respective bodies:

was ordered to go forward, that the horses might get on by means of its light. When Arjoon beheld that light, which is the light of God, he could not turn his face towards it; but, covering his eyes, to preserve them from the dazzling glare, remained in deep and awful reflection. When the resplendent brightness of that light overcame them, they entered an expanse of water, where a cold wind reigned. Within that, they observed a splendid palace and throne, whereon sate Seshanaga, the snake, who had a thousand heads, and who seemed in magnitude to resemble Kylass, while his thousand eyes shot terrific flames. There they beheld the Being undescribable, who is pure and all-sufficient. His countenance was like the flower of the lotos, and he wore a yellow robe on his body, and golden earings, and a profusion of jewels; a string of the finest pearls adorned his neck, and the Kowsteke-Men blazed on the middle of his breast, a figure beautiful in its proportions, and resplendent with Shanka, and Chakra, and Geda, and Padma. Creeshna and Arjoon, perceiving him to be the true object of worship, stood with their hands joined before them in adoration. That sublime Being, which was purity itself, spoke these words: "It was I, who, taking on myself the form of Yama, bore away the

and SESHANAGA is thus described: 'He had a gorgeous appearance, with a thousand heads; and on each of them a crown set with resplendent gems, one of which was larger and brighter than the rest; his eyes gleamed like flaming torches; but his neck, his tongues, and his body, were black; the skirts of his habiliment were yellow, and a sparkling jewel hung in every one of his ears; his arms were extended, and adorned with rich bracelets, and his hands bore the holy shell, the radiated weapon, the mace for war, and the lotos.' Thus Pluto was often exhibited in painting and sculpture with a diadem and sceptre; but himself and his equipage were of the blackest shade."—Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 43.—Thus far Sir William Jones, whose translation of the above passage seems to be more general and laboured than Mr. Halhed's, which, though tapid, appears to be minutely correct, from his particularly mentioning the "flower of the lotos" and the "*Kowsteke-Men*," which latter I ought before to have acquainted the reader from a note of the translator on a passage not printed, is a most resplendent jewel, worn on the breast as a talisman, and like the carbuncle, dissipating midnight darkness.

Brahmin's son, because I had an earnest desire to see you. You have done what was your function to do, and have released the earth overladen with her heavy weight. Your incarnation was for the purpose of illuminating the darkness of the world: both of you are Avatars of Narayen, and have well performed your appointed functions." On beholding these wonders, Arjoon totally forgot every thing that had passed in his mind, and now fully comprehended that Creeshna was Lord of heaven and earth, and that *all that he saw was* HIS FORM *and* HIS LIGHT. They then took the Brahmin's son away with them, and came back. Arjoon, astonished and amazed, totally laid aside his former presumption, and felt both Creeshna's might and his own weakness. The Brahmin, in great joy, received back his son, praising them for the miracles they had wrought and the toils they had undergone.

One day, in Dwaraka, which is a second Vaicontha, Creeshna was enjoying himself with his relations, and sons, and grandchildren, and his 16,000 wives, and all his wealth: his elephants, his horses, his carriages out of number, were arranged in order. In the midst of his golden castle extended his apartments on all the four sides. His gardens were of golden earth, wherein were trees of paradise full of variegated fruits. Peacocks, and coelas (Indian nightingales), and other birds, were sporting therein. Creeshna on that day was surrounded with his 16,000 wives, AS LIGHTNING WITH A CLOUD, and they gathered innumerable flowers as offerings to Creeshna, like the Devatas presenting flowers to Eendra; and, in all the licence of joy, they and Creeshna were sporting together, and throwing the flowers at each other. In the garden was a river, whose banks were all gold and jewels, the water of which, from the reflection of rubies, appeared *red*, though perfectly *white*; it was the WATER OF LIFE: and thousands of lotoses floated on its surface, among which innumerable bees were

humming, and, seeking their food. In this river they bathed and played, Creeshna always in the midst of them. At length, in the very height of all their revels and enjoyments, he suddenly disappeared!!!! His principal wives, which were the eight Nayega, remained for some time in profound astonishment: then they all burst out into the most passionate exclamations, crying, "Whither is he gone?" One demanded of the birds if they had seen him, wondering they could sing till he returned.—Another asked of the four-footed beasts why they made such loud moanings, as if Creeshna had left and deceived them too.—One addressed the sea, "Thou ocean! who art night and day roaring, hath not Creeshna taken thy fourteen Reten, or precious things, also, as well as our hearts, and is it not therefore thou grievest?"—Another addressed the moon, "O thou Lord of the stars! why dost not thou draw on the world the veil of darkness? Art thou not affected by his absence? at which every one must be heartless, like us wretched creatures, who know not what is our fault to be thus forgotten and forsaken."—Another spake to the passing clouds, "Ye, too, are impressed with the colour and figure of Creeshna, and, as he has taken his departure, so ye also are ever on the wing; and ye, like us mourning for his absence, overspread every quarter with gloom."—Another asked the cocela why he had lost his fine notes? "Is your mate also fled?"

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Mr. Halhed's copy of the Mahabbarat was imperfect and ended abruptly; but he has added in the manuscript these words: "Few events of any importance occur in the history of Creeshna between this period and that of his going to Hastanapoor to assist the Pandoos, just before the breaking out of the war of the Mahabbarat, which ended in the destruction of the Kooroos."

THE FATE OF THE YADAVAS, AND DEATH OF CREESHNA, FROM THE MAHABBARAT.

After the completion of the war of the Mahabbarat, and the victory over Doorjoodhen, Judishter reigned in triumph and profound peace with his brothers thirty-six years. After that period, commenced their calamities and bad omens of every kind. Great storms of wind, accompanied with hail and stones, fell upon the city. Those animals, whom it is reckoned fortunate to meet on the right side, met them on the left, and the contrary. The sky rained fire, and ashes, and half-burnt coals; and, sometimes, without any wind, such a dust was raised, that the sun was hidden at mid-day; while, at other times, his disk appeared without any light, and figures of men, without heads, appeared on all sides of the sun, or there was a black halo encircling it. The Pandoos, and indeed all human beings, were astonished and alarmed at these prodigies, and expected some most extraordinary and dreadful event to follow. In the midst of these horrors, on a certain day, as the Pandoos and nobles were all sitting together, arrived a person from Dwaraka, who brought news that the Yadavas had quarrelled among themselves, and had all cut each other to pieces. Rajah Judishter immediately, in the utmost anxiety and apprehension, sent off a messenger to learn the truth of these melancholy tidings.

Rajah Jenemejeye here requested of Vyshempayen to give him an account of this calamity that had befallen the Yadavas, which he accordingly commenced as follows:

Viswamitra, Dervasa, and Nared, three most perfect Reyshees, were sitting one day together, when Sarane, Son of Vasudeva, with Sanete, one of Creeshna's sons, and a multitude of other young

persons, all extremely merry, came to the place where they were; and, dressing up Sateebe in women's clothes, brought him to the Reyshees; and, telling them it was the wife of Beber-Jaroone, begged to know (as *they* were so exceedingly wise and prescient) what she was likely to bring forth. The Reyshees answered, that they very well knew what person it was thus disguised, and that he should bring forth an iron club, which would be the death of the whole family of the Yadavas. That for their contemptuous insolence to the poor, and their general pride and arrogance, no one should escape the effects of the iron club, out of the whole tribe of the Yadavas, except Creeshna and Balhadur. That Balhadur should quit his present body, and go away into the river, and that Creeshna's time was come to forsake this world. After having said this, these Reyshees took up the skins of Cheetehs on which they sat, and, throwing them over their shoulders, hasted away out of Dwaraka, and went to Rajah Judishter at Hestanapoor. The news of all this was presently spread over the whole city, and caused a general consternation. The next day Sateebe brought forth an iron Destehavenee, or club, such as those of wood which are used by athletics in their exercise, with a view to increase their strength. Ogur Sein, who had heard the whole affair, ordered his smiths to grind and pulverize this club, so that a morsel of it should not remain; which they did, and strewed it, when thus ground, to dust, by the river-side: and it was all thus reduced to impalpable powder, except a piece less than the palm of one's hand. From the dust thrown away by the river-side sprung up a great quantity of reeds, and, after the order for grinding away this club, another order was issued, strictly forbidding all the Yadavas to drink wine in future, on pain of death. From that time they left off wine out of fear, and did not even venture to name it. After this, DEATH appeared in Dwaraka in a human shape, the

colour of his skin being black and yellow, his head close shorn, and all his limbs distorted. He placed himself at men's doors; so that all those who saw him shuddered with apprehension, and became even as dead men from mere affright. Every person, to whose door he came, shot an arrow at him; and the moment the arrow quitted the bow-string, they saw the spectre no more, nor knew which way he was gone. At the same time adverse winds blew so violently, that all the trees were thrown down; and the tempest was so fierce, that men and brutes were carried away by it. Besides this, innumerable quantities of mice swarmed in every house, so that the moment any thing was set down, if it were not closely watched, the mice carried it away. Swarms upon swarms of these vermin ran about the market-places; and men's doors being entirely torn away by the dreadful winds, the mice came and gnawed off all their hair and beards while they slept. Nightingales and shareks lost their own notes, and squeaked like mice or hooted like owls, and never left off moaning day or night. Multitudes of owls, also, entered all the houses by night; or, sitting on the roofs, continued hooting and screeching till the morning. In that dreadful period, cows brought forth ass-colts; mares, the foals of camels; bitches, kittens; and weasels, mice. The Yedavas, too, became addicted to all sorts of wickedness and depravity, and were perpetually abusing and reviling the poor and the good; and left off paying all kind of respect to their spiritual guides and men of science, while the order of nature was reversed, and women got the better of men. Fire gave no light; the flames burnt dusky and livid; and, at the time of sun-rise and sun-set, there appeared near the sun thousands of human figures in the air, with weapons in their hands, skirmishing together, and these appearances were visible to every body. The Yogees and the Reyshees, and the devotees, and all the religious, whatever skin they

spread upon the ground to sit on, after a few minutes, found in the place of it nothing but worms. *The moon was eclipsed on its twelfth day, and the sun on the twenty-seventh of the moon.* This same prodigy had happened there once before, at the time of the war of the Mahabbarat. Creeshna, when he saw this miracle, said, "It is now thirty-six years since this same portentous sign was seen in the war of the Mahabbarat, and at that time did Kandharee utter her curse against us; the very same ill omens then appeared at the *extinction of all the Kooroos*; and, as they portended the death of all the Kooroos at that time, so they now forbode the *death of all the Yadavas*."

One night Creeshna ordered the heralds to proclaim, that, on the next day, all men should go to the banks of the river in pilgrimage to a famous place of worship and bathing; and that same night there suddenly appeared in Dwaraka a woman of the very blackest complexion; she was also dressed in black attire, and was hideous, with yellow teeth. She entered every house grinning horribly a ghastly smile, and all who saw her were stricken with dread. The moment any person attempted to catch her, she vanished, and immediately appeared in some other house; so that on one and the same night she was seen in almost every house at Dwaraka; and, in places where they were celebrating Yugs, such heart-appalling terrors arose, that no one could possibly go thither. Dæmons also came, and carried away the ornaments of the women and the arms of the men, and no one could impede them, or recover the things they seized. In the midst of this dreadful tumult and distraction, the heart of Creeshna, taking its direction through the air, ascended to heaven, so that all men saw it, and, with a confused clamour, exclaimed aloud, "Lo! Creeshna's heart ascends its native skies!" Every one followed it with their eyes till distance rendered it completely invisible. Daroke, too, the driver,

having put the horses to the carriage, they took fright, and wildly ran away with the carriage into the pathless regions of the air, far beyond the ken of mortals. The figure on the standard of Balhadur being a falcon, and on that of Creeshna being Garoori, the eagle, left the standards (of themselves) and went up to heaven. Apsaras hovered about in the air, and were continually wailing, and crying out, "Arise ye, and flee!" and this voice resounded through all the houses. On the next day, being that whereon Creeshna had ordered an universal visitation to a certain holy Teerthe on the bank of the river, the people sent down thither great quantities of provision and wine, and took with them all their finest dresses and richest ornaments; immense was the multitude that flocked thither of men, women, and children, some in carriages, some on horseback and elephants, and other means of conveyance. The retailers carried down their shops thither, and the people all got such accommodation as they could, either in tents or under the trees. When every body was gone to the Teerthe, one Oodhoo, a Yadava, who, for learning, piety, and exalted merit of every kind, had no equal, took leave of Creeshna, and went away towards the northern countries. This man, from the brightness of his devotion, had acquired so luminous an appearance, that wherever he went, the road for a long way shone, as if with fire. When the people had all taken their places, Creeshna ordered that they should first prepare a variety of victuals and drink for the Brahmins; and while they were doing so, a drunken Yadava, who happened to have a pitcher of wine in his hand, spilt some of its contents on the provision, and contaminated the whole, so that the Brahmins would not touch a morsel of it; and Creeshna commanded the whole to be thrown to the monkeys. As this was a great festival, all the first musicians, dancers, &c. began their amusements; and men, having been so long deprived of wine,

were now eager to indulge in it even to satiety, while Creeshna arranged in order the various guests. All the elders and nobles of the family, of whom Ogur Sein was the first in age, and Balhadur, Creeshna's elder brother, and Beber, and Satyekee, and Keret-Brema, and the sons of Creeshna, Predemne, Neset, &c. were all present in that assemblage, and every one of the Yadavas of note to a man.

When they were all duly seated, Balhadur, who was impatient for liquor, called to the attendants to bring some pitchers of wine, and set them before each person, while the master of the ceremonies took especial care to place those persons together who were known to be particularly intimate, that they might quaff the sparkling beverage with more hilarity. Balhadur and Keret-Brema were thus in one party; Predemne and Satyekee in another; Veere, or Beber, and Creeshna's younger brothers, in another. Satyekee soon became extremely intoxicated, and, looking towards Keret-Brema, cried out, "See that Khettree, my friends, who vaunts so much of his manhood: he, with the concurrence of Aswethame, went by night to attack a parcel of inoffensive young people, and killed all the poor innocents most unjustly! Yet he boasts of his courage." Predemne exclaimed, "Bravo!" Keret-Breme, who was also very much intoxicated, said, "Do you, Satyekee, upbraid me? you, whose merciless sword has perpetrated so many murders?" Creeshna now hinted to Satyekee to reproach Keret-Brema for killing Sete-Rajeete, and carrying away his jewel. [Here the story of Sete-Rajeete is related, as in a former page,* see 56 Adhyaye.] When Setebame, Creeshna's wife, heard her father's name mentioned, she began to weep exceedingly, and asked Creeshna how he could suffer those men to live who had

* This story, which was tedious and uninteresting, and had no connection with the history in point of event, I purposely omitted. M.

killed her father? but Creeshna gave her no answer. Satyekee then rose up, and desired her not to grieve, assuring her that he would revenge her father's blood on that villain who was the very assassin that, in confederacy with Aswesthame, basely murdered the sons of Dropeda, and Sookemeda, and Drestedoomne, and so many thousand others: but that his life should instantly terminate in expiation of all those bloody deeds. Then, drawing his cimeter, he flew towards Keret-Brema, who also got up to draw his sword, when Satyekee, at the first blow, cut off his head. The relations of each party immediately engaged in furious contest, and several were presently killed on both sides. Creeshna, seeing the violence of the fray, rose up, endeavouring to appease them; but all his exclamations and endeavours were fruitless. Keret-Brema's relations lanced upon Satyekee; and Predemne, having spoken to Creeshna, went to keep the assailants from him; but two of the opposite party having drawn their swords, slew both Predemne and Satyekee before Creeshna's face. Creeshna was now greatly enraged, and, having no other weapon by him, tore up some of those reeds which grew by the river's side, and struck with them those who had slain Predemne and Satyekee. Wherever those fatal reeds fell, they caused certain death; and as they now began to attack Creeshna himself, he presently dispatched all his assailants with the same weapon. Others, also, ran and took some of the same reeds, and began to fight with them, and their effect, whomsoever they touched, was like the arrow of death; for, instant destruction ensued. The father here slew his son, and the son the father; brother killed brother, and relations perished by the hand of each other, all fighting with these reeds: for, in truth, by the curse of those three Reyshees, they were all reduced to such a desperate situation, that they knew not what they did, but continued smiting and striking, till in the end every one of Creeshna's

sons and all their posterity were slain on that calamitous spot. Creeshna there beheld, among others of the dead, his sons Predemne, and Sanete, and Jaredyesoo; and Aneroodhe, the son of Predemne; and Kephe, or Goped, his own brother; and all his other relations. While he was absorbed in grief at this event, Dareke, his driver, came and told him, that, before this quarrel commenced, his elder brother Balhadur had risen from the assembly, and had gone no one knew whither; and it was much to be apprehended that some fatal accident had befallen *him* also. Creeshna immediately ordered his carriage to be got ready, that he might go and seek his brother. Then himself and Veere, the Yadava, mounted the chariot, and Dareke drove them.

They had proceeded but a little way when they discovered Balhadur sitting under the shade of a pepal (or pepper) tree, with his eyes closed, and apparently immersed in deep thought. Creeshna and Veere, the Yadava, approached very gently, and sat down beside him. But Balhadur was so much absorbed in his reflections, that he did not in the least perceive any person's approach. Creeshna now said to Dareke, "You see what a horrible calamity has happened to all our people! Go quickly to Rajah Judishter, acquaint him with the sad catastrophe, and desire him to send Arjoon hither immediately." Dareke, mounting the carriage, drove with all speed towards Hastanapoor. After he was gone, Creeshna said to Veere, "You are aware of the miserable fate of these men; go now to Dwaraka, and look after my wives and houses, lest any thieves or villains, knowing that the town is empty, should come thither in hopes of plunder, offer violence to the women, and ransack the city. My father Vasudeva is also in the town, pay also the utmost attention to his safety." So Veere hastily returned towards the city; but, in his way, met with a hunter quite intoxicated, who had in his hands some of those fatal

reeds, with which he struck Veere, and killed him. A spectator of this ran immediately and brought Creeshna news of his death; and Creeshna then, rousing Balhadur, said to him, "I am afraid that some invader will desolate the town. I request of you to stay here while I go thither, and I will return the instant I have informed myself." Then Creeshna went directly towards Dwaraka. On arriving there, he hastened to his father Vasudeva, and, after salutation, acquainted him with the utter annihilation of the whole of the males of the Yadava family. Vasudeva immediately began to weep bitterly; but Creeshna told him, that, notwithstanding this most dreadful of all calamities, the present was not a time for weeping, but that he must exert himself for the protection of the women till Arjoon's arrival, for whom he had already dispatched Dareke with all expedition; that he himself must now reluctantly take leave to return to his brother Balhadur, whom he had left sitting disconsolate under a pepal-tree, and anxiously waiting his return; that he had formerly seen all the Kooroos slain, but that now all the Yadavas, his own relations, had experienced the same fate: and that, being without sons and relations of every kind, he would never more come back into that city, but had made an agreement with Balhadur that they should retire together into the desert to pass their lives in prayer. Having said this, he respectfully kissed Vasudeva's feet. At the same time his wives and women began to weep and bewail their fate in the most heart-rending plaints. Creeshna told them not to be so loud in their lamentations, nor to give way to excessive grief, since there was *no remedy for the decrees of fate*; that Arjoon would arrive there the ensuing day, and dispel their sorrows. Creeshna having said this, and again taken a most affectionate leave of his father and the rest, departed from the city, and came to the place where he had left Balhadur, whom he found sitting in the very same posture.

Creeshna then beheld a snake of an enormous magnitude, and exceedingly white, issue from his mouth. When the snake was entirely come forth, all at once it assumed a thousand heads, and went towards the river, while the carcase of Balhadur remained without life under the shade of the same tree as before, while the snake gradually approached the river's side. Creeshna then saw that the river appeared in the figure of a Brahmin, advancing respectfully forward to meet the snake, and said to it, "Approach, and be welcome." The snakes that were beneath the earth, such as Vasookee, and the rest, [a long catalogue of them follows,] and Varoona, who is the spirit of water, all came to meet that snake, and all devoutly worshipped him. That mighty snake moved on majestically in this manner till he entered the river, and, going into the middle of the stream, plunged into it, and was seen no more. When Creeshna saw that Balhadur's spirit had finally departed, he became exceedingly sorrowful. Near where he stood there was a jungle, or brake, into which he entered, and, leaning his head on his knees, sat absorbed in the deepest melancholy. He reflected within himself, that all the effect of Kandharee's curse had now fully taken place on the Yadavas, and he now called to his remembrance those prophetic words, which Doorvasa had once uttered to him: "O Creeshna, take care of the *sole of thy foot*; for, if any evil come upon thee, it will happen in that place:" (as is related in the 13th perble of the Mahabbarat.) Creeshna then said to himself, "Since all the Kooroos and the whole of the Yadavas are now dead and perished, it is time also for me to quit the world." Then, leaning to one side, and placing his feet over his thighs, he summoned up the whole force of his mental and corporeal powers, while his hovering spirit stood ready to depart. At that time there came thither a hunter with his bow and arrow in his hand; and, seeing from a distance Creeshna's foot, which he had laid over his thigh, and

which was partly obscured among the trees, he suspected it to be some animal sitting there. Applying, therefore, to his bow and arrow, the point of which was formed from the *very iron of that club* which had issued from Sateebe's belly, he took aim, and struck Creeshna *in the sole of his foot*. Then, thinking he had secured the animal, he ran up to seize it, when, to his astonishment, he beheld Creeshna there with four hands, and drest in yellow habiliments. When the hunter saw that the wounded object was Creeshna, he advanced, and, falling at his feet, said, "Alas, O Creeshna! I have, by the most fatal of mistakes, struck you with this arrow. Seeing your foot at a distance, I did not properly discern my object, but thought it to be an animal: O pardon my involuntary crime!" Creeshna comforted him to the utmost of his power, saying, "It was no fault of thine. Depart, therefore, in peace." The hunter then humbly kissed his foot, and went sorrowing away. The piece of iron which had stricken Creeshna was, as before-observed, the remains of that very club which had been ground away by order of Ogur Sein, and of which the small bit that was left had been cast into the river, where a fish had swallowed it; and that fish, being caught, had been sold to this hunter, who, finding a morsel of iron in its belly, formed it into the head of an arrow, with which same arrow he wounded Creeshna. After the hunter was gone, so great a light proceeded from Creeshna, that it enveloped the whole compass of the earth, and illuminated all the expanse of heaven. At that instant, an innumerable tribe of Devatas and other celestial beings, of all ranks and denominations, came to meet Creeshna; and he, luminous as on that night when he was born in the house of Vasudeva, by that same light pursued his journey between heaven and earth to the bright Vaicontha, or paradise, whence he had descended. All this assemblage of beings, who had come to meet Creeshna, exerted the utmost of their power

to laud and glorify him. Creeshna soon arrived at the abode of Eendra, who was overjoyed to behold him, and accompanied him as far as the extent of *Eendra-Loke* reached, and offered him all manner of ceremonious observances. When Creeshna had passed the limits of Eendra's territory, Eendra said to him, "I have no power to proceed any farther, nor is there any admission for me beyond this limit." So Creeshna kindly dismissed him, and went forward alone.

In the mean time Dareke, who had been sent to summon Arjoon, immediately on his arrival at Hastanapoor, waited upon Rajah Judishter, who rejoiced exceedingly to see him; but, when he heard the fatal news of the death of all the Yadavas, he fell down senseless through the distracting violence of his grief. When he came to himself, Dareke related to him all the particulars of this sad catastrophe, at which he and his brothers remained more dead than alive. Arjoon, however, instantly hurried away to visit Vasudeva, and see in what state Creeshna himself might be. So he mounted the carriage, and came with all possible speed to Dwaraka. He beheld *the city in the state of a woman whose husband is recently dead*; and, finding neither Creeshna nor Balhadur, nor any other of his friends there, the whole place appeared in his eyes as if involved in a cloud of impenetrable darkness, nor could he refrain from bursting into tears. The 16,000 wives of Creeshna, the moment they set their eyes on Arjoon, burst also into a flood of tears, and all at once began the most bitter lamentations; and, in truth, the whole city was so rent with uproar and distraction, that it surpasses description. Arjoon, on seeing them thus left without husband, children, father, brother, or friend of any sort, was so affected with their situation, that all his understanding, judgment, and courage, forsook him; and, for a time, he was utterly unable to come to any resolution. After a long pause,

recovering his bewildered intellects, he anxiously enquired were Vasudeva was, and went to see him. Here the scene of grief and misery was renewed; and, after a mutual intercourse of lamentation, in which Vasudeva told him he had neither eaten nor drunk since Creeshna had left him, Arjoon, taking Dareke with him, went to Creeshna's palaces, and, summoning together such of his people as were left, told them, that, in seven days from that time, the sea would rise in mountain-billows, and entirely submerge the city; that, therefore, they must, before that time, exert themselves, get every carriage, elephant, and horse, in the place ready, and carry away the women and all the best part of the treasure towards Eendraput, *i. e.* Dheli; that they must, moreover, take with them Vejre, son of Aneroodhe, and Creeshna's great grandson, and seat him in the government of Dheli. He assured them there was not a moment to be lost; for, that, the very same day they should quit Dwaraka, it would be deluged by the ocean; and if any inhabitant loitered there, he must perish. That whole night was passed by Arjoon in weeping; he rose early the next morning, and after bathing was going to see Vasudeva, when he met all the women running out of the house, shrieking, beating their breasts, and tearing their hair. Vasudeva had expired that same night, and fourteen of his wives were standing around him, among whom were Yasodha, mother of Creeshna, and Roheenee, mother of Balhadur. Arjoon was, at this news, again for a time bereft of his senses; but Creeshna's wives, coming to him, roused him from his trance, and told him there was no time for useless weeping, as he had Vasudeva's funeral to direct, and to provide for their own departure. Arjoon accordingly had the funeral-pile prepared in the very place were Creeshna had performed the Aswammedha-Yug, as Vasudeva had desired in his life time. Four of his wives burnt themselves with his corpse. Arjoon next came

to the fatal field of dispute, where he had fresh cause to mourn over the lifeless remains of his slaughtered friends, Predemne, and Creeshna's other sons, brothers, &c. all of whose bodies he caused to be burnt. Search was also made for the earthly portions of what once was Creeshna and Balhadur. These also he solemnly committed to the flames. After he had finished these melancholy ceremonies, on the sixth day Arjoon ordered that all the people, men, women, and children, should quit the devoted city of Dwaraka, and take the road to Eendraput. Accordingly, they all left Dwaraka; Creeshna's 16,000 wives also, and all their servants and maids in very great numbers; and before them went Vejre, the son of Anaroodhe, while Arjoon brought up the rear. On the same day on which Arjoon left the city, the agitated deep began to swell, and rising higher and higher, even to the roofs of the loftiest edifices of Dwaraka, overwhelmed them in the sight of all the people, who, with the utmost trepidation and horror, lest the spreading waves should overtake them, travelled with all possible haste to a place where five streams unite with the river Indus, and there they halted. The people of that quarter were all thieves and plunderers, who, seeing so many beautiful women and so much valuable treasure slightly guarded, attacked the caravan, in spite of Arjoon's remonstrances and threats, and began to hurry away the women and plunder the baggage. Arjoon now attempted to string his bow Gandeeva, but was a long time before he could succeed. He then put an arrow to the string, but with all his strength could not draw the bow. He then pulled at his sword, but could not unsheath it. In the mean time, every thief, at his option, took one of Creeshna's wives, and bore them in triumph away. Arjoon, with great difficulty, at last drew his bow, and shot an arrow; but whereas formerly one arrow would do prodigious execution, and his quiver remained always inexhaustible, his arrows now were soon spent,

and almost wholly without effect. He next began to strike at the thieves with his bow Gandeeva, but the effect was trifling. The villains with ease carried off the women and the booty before his face; and Arjoon, exhausted with labour and grief, sat down to weep. Some few, however, of the women, and a small part of the treasure were still remaining, and Arjoon, in an agony of despair, knelt down to pray; when, finding his strength a little restored, he drew his sword and killed a few of the plunderers, and rescued some of the women. Ordering his people to place these and the remaining baggage on the carriages again, he then proceeded towards Hastanapoor and Eendraput. When they came to Koorookshetre, the son of Keret-Brema came out to meet them, and him they established in the government of Meerenhe and sovereignty of that country. After taking care of Koorookshetre, they came to Eendraput, and Arjoon settled the government of that city and its dependencies on Vejre Natha, son of Anaroodhe. In Koorookshetre, five of Creeshna's wives, Rokemenee, Yamoonetee, Seebeesa, Heimootee, and Kandharee, whose father was of the country of Kandhar, (Candahar,) burnt themselves; while Sete-Bame, with some others, invested themselves with the habits of Sanyassi's, and, forsaking the world, retired into the deserts to pass their lives in solitude and prayer.

END OF THE LIFE OF CREESHNA.

CONCISE ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE AVATAR OF CREESHNA.

The two introductory chapters to the Life of Creeshna have sufficiently shewn it to be a compound of some traditional prediction, alluding to a great spiritual, but obscure, character, about to arise from the womb of time, *the preserver of the world from crimes and punishments*, and the history of some ancient hero; in all probability of that very Rama who forms so conspicuous a portion of the Avatar. Through the whole of it, however, there runs such frequent reference to the power and operations of the SOLAR DEITY; he combats both in youth and age with monsters so much resembling those of the sphere, with bulls, dragons, serpents, wolves, crows, and others, enrolled among the forty-eight oldest constellations; he maintains such dreadful contests with enemies in the form of tempests, whirlwinds, hurricanes, and other aërial prodigies, that for a while envelope and obscure him; and, what is not the least remarkable circumstance in his history, he is so constantly represented as absorbing into himself, or, as the fable expresses it, *receiving into his mouth*, the noxious fires and devouring conflagrations which hostilely assail his comrades; that the astronomical relation of his character to that planet cannot be passed over unobserved, or its existence denied, though it is impossible to draw any exact parallel. That Osiris, too, the *black* divinity of Egypt, and Creeshna, the *sable* shepherd-god of Mathura, have the striking similitude of character, intimated by Mr. Wilford, cannot be disputed, any more than that Creeshna, from his rites, continuing so universally to flourish over India from such remote periods down to the present day, was the prototype, and Osiris the mythological copy. Both are renowned legislators and conquerors, contending

equally with physical and spiritual foes; both are denominated THE SUN; both descend to the shades, and both raise the dead to life.

There is also another great personage in Asiatic antiquity to whose history, as related by Herodotus, that of Creeshna bears, in many parts, a striking similitude; I mean the *great Cyrus*, or CAI COSROE of the Persians; a name apparently connected with the Indian; for, its primitive is *Coresh*, an old Persian name for the sun, whence Creeshna might have been originally formed. In that case, we may apply to our black deity of India that celebrated line of Milton:

DARK with excess of LIGHT thy skirts appear.

The account of Cyrus in Herodotus is, in some instances, so minutely particular, that a doubt can scarcely be entertained of his having seen some ancient legend concerning Creeshna, and consequently additional evidence is thence brought to the truth of Herodotus, who could only have seen it in those Persian annals which he asserts he consulted in writing his history; a circumstance extremely probable, since the remotest annals of India and Persia were the same. Let any man coolly read the remarkable, though generally exploded, relation of Herodotus concerning the birth and exposure of the infant Cyrus, through the jealous dread and hatred of his grandfather, to whom it was announced in a dream that he should be dethroned by that grandson; let him consider the account given in that author of his being rescued from the threatened doom by the tenderness of the herdsman Mithridates and his wife Spaco; the *exchange* of Cyrus for their new, but still-born, son, who was exposed in his stead on the mountains of Ecbatana; his being trained up in the scenes of pastoral life at their farm, and

the notable circumstance of his being chosen *king*, or chief, as Creeshna was, of the young shepherds, his companions; together with the complete fulfilment of the prophecy in the subversion of the throne of Astyages:* let any person, I say, compare this singular narration with what he has read concerning Creeshna in the preceding pages, and he will not only be convinced of the truth of the assertion of Sir William Jones, that the Indian and Iranian annals were originally *the same*, at least as to their general purport, but that Herodotus had actually consulted them, and not fabricated, as his calumniators have asserted, an idle romance to please the fabulous mythologists of Greece. But concerning the different degrees of credit which ought to be given to the two only authentic historians of Cyrus, Herodotus and Xenophon, an observation or two will occur in a subsequent chapter relative to the second, or Caianian, dynasty of Persia, in which Cyrus ranks the third; and it is time that we quit this extended Avatar for that of BUDDHA, the next in order of succession.

* Herodotus, lib. i. p. 81. et seq.

BUDDHA; OR THE NINTH AVATAR.

PLATE X.



incarnate for the purpose of abolishing sanguinary Sacrifices.

To John Penn Esq.r of Stoke, this Plate of Buddha, generous and benevolent like himself, is gratefully inscribed by T. M.

THE NINTH INDIAN AVATAR, OR THAT OF BUDDHA, INCARNATE FOR THE PURPOSE OF PUTTING A PERIOD TO SANGUINARY SACRIFICES OF MEN AND BEASTS.

CHAPTER IV.

The vast Extent in which the religious and philosophical Doctrines of BUDDHA, *the Ninth Avatar, have been diffused throughout Asia.—Sanscreet Documents concerning himself and his extraordinary History.—His secluded and penitentiary Life, persevered in with a View more efficaciously to inculcate the main Object of his Avatar,* PARDON WITHOUT PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE, *the grand Exemplar which the ancient Gymnosophists and the modern Yogees imitated in the dreadful and disgusting Austerities to which, from remote ages, they have voluntarily devoted themselves.*

THE ninth Avatar, or that of BUDDHA, commenced, according to Sir William Jones, in the year 1014 before Christ.* Buddha, however, must have flourished at a period much earlier, if, as is intimated in another part of the Asiatic Researches, he appeared on earth towards the commencement of the Cali-Yug, and *married Ila, whose father* (Noah, or Ilus, as he is called by Sanchoniatho†) *was preserved in a miraculous ark from a universal deluge.*‡ Possibly Buddha may be the name of a dynasty, as were Bali and Rama; a dynasty extending from very remote æras down to periods compara-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 425.

† See Bishop Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 29.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 376.

tively recent in their romantic annals; and, in fact, Buddha is to be found in a preceding page at the head of the great lunar dynasty of India. His Avatar is asserted to have taken place for the express purpose of putting a stop to the bloody sacrifices with which the Brahmins had polluted the pristine purity and simplicity of their religion. A rock-altar, therefore, that altar on which the blood of animals had profusely flowed, was sacred to him throughout Asia; and he himself was often represented by a huge columnar black stone, black being among the ancients a colour emblematical of the inscrutable nature of the Deity. How wide his fame and the mild rites of his religion were diffused will be evident, when it is considered that the Indian Buddha is the *Budso* and *Dai-Bod*, that is, *Deva-Buddha*, of the Japanese, whose history and superstitious rites are detailed at great length by Kæmpfer. Among other circumstances, he relates, that, in the reign of the eleventh emperor from Syn Mu, *Budo* came over from the Indies into Japan, and brought with him, upon a *white horse*, his religion and doctrine.* Kæmpfer here evidently confounds the two last Avatars, the tenth being a warrior with a winged *white horse*. Chronology marks him for the undoubted *Fot* of China, the name being thus softened down by a race who have neither a B nor D in their alphabet. He was the *Wod*, or original *Oden*, of the Scandinavians, proved to have been so by the rock-worship in use among them and their Druid-descendants in Europe. For the same reason he is known to be the elder Thoth and Hermes of Egypt, pyramids and certain pillars called Herma being sacred to that deity. He is also known to be the Taut, or Mercury, of Phœnicia, as well by the same species of rude worship and symbols, (the Mercurial heaps,) as by the very curious circumstance, often be-

* Kæmpfer's Japan, lib. ii. p. 168.

fore alluded to in this work and the Indian Antiquities, that the fourth day of the week, (our Wednesday, a corruption of *Woden's day,*) which is assigned to Buddha in India, called Bhood-War, is the Dies Mercurii of the West. There is also some reason to suppose, from the following passage of Sir William Jones, that the rites of his religion were not wholly unknown among the Arabians, whose principal divinity was represented under the form of a cubical black stone. He observes, that, "the powers of God represented as female deities, the adoration of stones, and the name of the idol WUDD, induce us strongly to suspect that some of the Hindoo superstitions had found their way into Arabia; and, though we have no traces in Arabian history of such a conqueror or legislator as the great SESAC, who is said to have raised pillars in Yemen as well as at the mouth of the Ganges, yet, since we know that SACYA is a title of BUDDHA, whom I suppose to be WODEN, and since the age of Sesac perfectly agrees with that of Sacya, we may form a plausible conjecture that they were in fact the same person who travelled eastward from Ethiopia, either as a warrior or as a lawgiver, about a thousand years before Christ, and whose rites we now see extend as far as the country of Nifon, or, as the Chinese call it, Japuen, both words signifying the *rising sun.*"*

Buddha is not entirely unknown even to classical writers: Arrian denominates him, as we have seen before in the chapter concerning Hercules, *Budæus*;† and Clemens, of Alexandria, terms him *Bouta*.‡ Buddha opposed the sanguinary sacrifices of the Brahmins, and, consequently, in a degree, the holy Vedas themselves which enjoined them: in India, therefore there has always been a sect who are violently hostile to the followers of Buddha, denominating them atheists and denying the genuineness of his Avatar.

* See his Essay on the Arabians. † Arrian in Indicis, p. 421. ‡ Stromata, lib. i. p. 359.

But the rescinding of a precept when abused is no valid argument against its original rectitude; and how far the philosophical doctrines promulgated by Buddha may be considered as tending to establish materialism will be the subject of future discussion. The learned Indians seem, from a very remote period, to have been divided into two grand sects, a circumstance noticed by classical writers, who name them Brachmans and Samanæans, *i. e.* the followers of Samanacodom, an appellative of Buddha. Hence Mr. Chambers, in the Asiatic Researches,* where he is treating of some grand remains of ancient Hindoo temples and sculptures, like those of Salsette and Elephanta, cut out of the solid rock, on the Coromandel coast, observes, that there anciently prevailed in India, or at least in the Peninsula, a system of religion, very different from that inculcated in the Vedas, and, in some respects, totally inconsistent with the principles and practice of the present Brahmins. This religion still flourishes in the farther Peninsula, particularly among the Siamese, between whom and the inhabitants of Deccan and Ceylone, it is evident, from his Dissertation, that a considerable intercourse, in very remote periods, has subsisted. Mr. Chambers supposes this religion to be the worship of the God BOODH, whose votaries, Mr. Knox observes, took particular pride in erecting to his honour temples and high monuments, "as if they had been born solely to hew rocks and great stones, and lay them up in heaps."† Their kings, he adds, are now happy spirits, having merited heaven by those stupendous labours. In the same treatise, among other evidences of the probability of his supposition, Mr. Chambers has inserted a passage from M. Gentil,

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 145.

† See Knox's curious and authentic historical account of the island of Ceylone; published at London, 1681.

who remarked, in the neighbourhood of Verapatnam, a statue of granite, very hard and beautiful, probably of many thousand weight, but half sunk in the deep sand, and standing, as it were, abandoned in the midst of that extensive plain. He observed "that it exactly resembled THE SAMANACODOM, or principal stone deity of the Siamese, in the form of its head, in its features, and in the position of its arms, but that it bore no similitude to the present idols of the Hindoos; and, upon inquiry of the Tamulians, he was constantly informed, that it *was* the God BOODH, who was now no longer regarded, since the Brahmins had made themselves masters of the people's faith."*

To explain the obscure and apparently contradictory circumstances above alluded to in the history of Buddha, I mean his oppugning the doctrines of the Vedas, and his being considered in India as a favourer of the principles of Materialism, principles so directly contrary to the sublime conceptions of the Brahmins concerning the Diety as an active spirit pervading every particle of matter, a conjecture has been started by some Indian mythologists, that, as there were two exalted personages in antiquity of the name of Hermes, so there might have been two Buddhas; the latter, an usurper of his name and honours, they suppose to be the famous BUDHA SAKIA, a priest of Memphis, mentioned by Kæmpfer to have been driven from Egypt, with others of his persecuted brethren, to the shores of India, during the ravages of Cambyses, in the year 525 before Christ. † In fact, it is not uncommon in the complex system of Asiatic mythology to find two persons of the same name, and of doctrines presumed similar, living in quite different ages, as in the case of Zoroaster, Orpheus, and Hermes;

* Mr. Chambers in the Asiatic Researches, in loco citat.

† Kæmpfer's Japan, vol. i. p. 38. edit. 1728.

and the cause of it is to be found in the general belief of the Asiatics in the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, in the stages of which the same spirit was supposed to animate, at different periods, different human forms. Ingenious, however, as the attempted solution of this difficulty may appear, it by no means effectually removes it; and the best explanation will be a concise, but fair, statement of the genuine doctrines of Buddha, which have been manifestly perverted by the sophists of India from their original meaning. Buddha signifies *a wise man*, and Sacya, his other title, means *a feeder upon vegetables*: this Avatar was, therefore, intended not only to put an effectual termination to the barbarous custom of profusely shedding bestial blood, its more professed object, but to impress on the Indians the maxims of a sublime and sound philosophy, the consequence of the practice of which would render sacrificial atonement for crimes less necessary; to animate them to the attainment of purity and pardon by personal mortification and severe abstinence rather than by the expiatory ablution of a more innocent animal; in fact, to inculcate, according to the precept and practice of Buddha, a total subjugation of *sense* and an utter annihilation of *passion*.

These general remarks will serve as no improper introduction to such authentic Sanscreet documents of this Avatar as from various sources I have been able to collect together for its more complete elucidation.

I cannot more properly commence the native accounts concerning this Avatar of Buddha, than by inserting the subsequent extract relating to him, from the Asiatic Researches. It is part of a translation, by Sir John Shore, of an inscription on a silver plate found in a cave near Islamabad. The reader is already too well acquainted with the romantic style in which all the Indian legends are written to need any apology for my inserting it verbatim. From

the presence and services of so many deities of superior order at his birth, and on other occasions, a just idea of the importance of his character may be formed, and fully establishes his title to the distinguished rank of an AVATAR.

"God sent into the world Buddha-Avatar to instruct and direct the steps of angels and of men; of whose birth and origin the following is a relation; When Buddha-Avatar descended from the region of souls in the month of Magh, and entered the body of Mahamaya, the wife of Sootah Dannah, rajah of Cailas, her womb suddenly assumed the appearance of clear transparent chrystal, in which Buddha appeared, beautiful as a flower, kneeling and reclining on his hands. After ten months and ten days of her pregnancy had elapsed, Mahamaya solicited permission from her husband, the rajah, to visit her father, in conformity to which the roads were directed to be repaired and made clear for her journey; fruit-trees were planted; water-vessels placed on the road-side; and great illuminations prepared for the occasion. Mahamaya then commenced her journey, and arrived at a garden adjoining to the road, where inclination led her to walk and gather flowers. At this time, being suddenly attacked with the pains of child-birth, she laid hold on the trees for support, which declined their boughs at the instant, for the purpose of concealing her person, while she was delivered of the child; at which juncture Brahma himself attended with a golden vessel in his hand, on which he laid the child, and delivered it to Eendra, by whom it was committed to the charge of a female attendant; upon which the child, alighting from her arms, walked seven paces, whence it was taken up by Mahamaya, and carried to her house; and, on the ensuing morning, news were circulated of a child being born in the rajah's family. At this time Tapaswi Muni, who, residing in the woods, devoted his time to the worship of the Deity, learned by inspiration that Buddha was come

to life in the rajah's palace: he flew through the air to the rajah's residence, where, sitting on a throne, he said, 'I have repaired hither for the purpose of visiting the child.' Buddha was accordingly brought into his presence: the Muni observed two feet fixed on his head, and, divining something both of good and bad import, began to weep and to laugh alternately. The rajah then questioned him with regard to his present impulse, to whom he answered, 'I must not reside in the same place with Buddha, when he shall arrive at the rank of Avatar: this is the cause of my present affliction, but I am even now affected with gladness by his presence, as I am hereby absolved from all my transgressions.' The Muni then departed; and, after five days had elapsed, he assembled four Pandits for the purpose of calculating the destiny of the child; three of whom divined, that, as he had marks on his hands resembling a wheel, he would at length become a Rajah Chacraverti; another divined, that he would arrive at the dignity of Avatar.

"The boy was now named Sacya, and nothing important occurred till he had attained the age of sixteen years; at which period it happened, that the Rajah Chuhidan had a daughter named Vasutara, whom he had engaged not to give in marriage to any one till such time as a suitor should be found who could brace a certain bow in his possession, which hitherto many rajahs had attempted to accomplish without effect. Sacya now succeeded in the attempt, and, accordingly obtained the rajah's daughter in marriage, with whom he repaired to his own royal residence.

"One day, as certain mysteries were revealed to him, he formed the design of relinquishing his dominion; at which time a son was born in his house, whose name was Raghu. Sacya then left his palace with only one attendant and a horse, and, having crossed the river Ganga, arrived at Balucali, where, having directed his

servant to leave him and carry away his horse, he laid aside his armour.

"When the world was created, there appeared five flowers, which Brahma deposited in a place of safety: three of them were afterwards delivered to the three Thacurs, and one was presented to Sacya, who discovered that it contained some pieces of wearing-apparel, in which he clothed himself, and adopted the manners and life of a mendicant. A traveller one day passed by him with eight bundles of grass on his shoulders, and, addressing him, said, 'A long period of time has elapsed since I have seen the Thacur; but now, since I have the happiness to meet him, I beg to present him an offering consisting of these bundles of grass.' Sacya accordingly accepted the grass, and reposed on it. At that time there suddenly appeared a golden temple, containing a chair of wrought gold, and the height of the temple was thirty cubits, upon which Brahma alighted, and held a canopy over the head of Sacya: at the same time Eendra descended with a large fan in his hand, and Naga, the rajah of serpents, with sandals in his hand, together with the four tutelar deities of the four corners of the universe; who all attended to do him service and reverence. At this time, likewise, the chief of Assoors, with his forces, arrived, riding on an elephant, to give battle to Sacya, upon which Brahma, Eendra, and the other deities, deserted him and vanished. Sacya, observing that he was left alone, invoked the assistance of the Earth; who, attending at his summons, brought an inundation over all the ground, whereby the Assoor and his forces were vanquished, and compelled to retire.

"At this time five holy scriptures descended from above, and Sacya was dignified with the title of Buddha-Avatar. The scriptures confer powers of knowledge and retrospection, the ability of accomplishing the impulses of the heart, and of carrying into effect the words of the mouth. Sacya resided here, without breaking his fast,

twenty-one days, and then returned to his own country, where he presides over rajahs, governing them with care and equity."*

From the same collection I present the reader with the following translation, by Mr. Wilkins, of a Sanscreet inscription, copied from a stone at Booddha-Gaya, in the province of Bahar.

"In the midst of a wild and dreadful forest, flourishing with trees of sweet-scented flowers, and abounding in fruits and roots; infested with lions and tigers, destitute of human society, and frequented by the Munis, resided Buddha, the author of happiness, and a portion of Narayen. This deity Haree, who is the lord Hareesa, the possessor of all, appeared in this ocean of natural beings at the close of the Dwapar, and beginning of the Cali Yug: he who is omnipresent and everlastingly to be contemplated, the Supreme Being, the Eternal One, the Divinity worthy to be adored by the most praise-worthy of mankind, appeared here with a portion of his divine nature.

"Once upon a time the illustrious Amara, renowned amongst men, coming hither, discovered the Supreme Being, Buddha, in the great forest. The wise Amara endeavoured to render the God Buddha propitious by superior service; and he remained in the forest for the space of twelve years, feeding upon roots and fruits, and sleeping upon the bare earth; and he performed the vow of a Muni, and was without transgression. He performed acts of severe mortification; for, he was a man of infinite resolution, with a compassionate heart. One night he had a vision, and heard a voice, saying, 'Name whatever boon thou wantest.' Amara-Deva, having heard this, was astonished, and, with due reverence, replied, 'First, give me a visitation, and then grant me such a boon.' He had another dream in the night, and the voice said, 'How can there be an apparition in the Cali-Yug? The same reward may be obtained

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 309.

from the sight of an image, or from the worship of an image, as may be derived from the immediate visitation of a deity.' Having heard this, he caused an image of the Supreme Spirit Buddha to be made, and he worshipped it, according to the law, with perfumes, incenses, and the like; and he thus glorified the name of that Supreme Being, the incarnation of a portion of Veeshnu: 'Reverence be unto thee in the form of Buddha! Reverence be unto the Lord of the earth! Reverence be unto thee, an incarnation of the Deity and the Eternal One! Reverence be unto thee, O God, in the form of the God of Mercy, the Dispeller of pain and trouble, the Lord of all things, the Deity who overcometh the sins of the Cali-Yug, the Guardian of the Universe, the Emblem of Mercy towards those who serve thee! OM, the possessor of all things in vital form! Thou art Brahma, Veeshnu, and Mahesa! Thou art Lord of the Universe! Thou art, under the proper form of all things, moveable and immoveable, the possessor of the whole! and thus I adore thee. Reverence be unto the Bestower of salvation, and Resheekesa, the ruler of the faculties! Reverence be unto thee, (Kesavah,) the destroyer of the evil spirit Kesee! O Damordara, shew me favour! Thou art he who resteth upon the face of the milky ocean, and who lieth upon the serpent Sesha. Thou art Treeviekrama, (who, at three strides, encompassed the earth!) I adore thee, who art celebrated by a thousand names, and under various forms, in the shape of Buddha, the God of Mercy! Be propitious, O Most High God!'

"Having thus worshipped the guardian of mankind, he became like one of the just. He joyfully caused a holy temple to be built of a wonderful construction, and therein were set up the divine foot of Veeshnu, for ever purifier of the sins of mankind, the images of the Pandoos, and of the descents of Veeshnu, and in like manner of Brahma and the rest of the divinities.

"This place is renowned, and it is celebrated by the name of Booddha-Gaya. The forefathers of him who shall perform the ceremony of the Sradha at this place shall obtain salvation. The great virtue of the Sradha, performed here, is to be found in the book called Vayoo-Poorana; an epitome of which hath by me been engraved upon stone.

"Veekramadeetya was certainly a king renowned in the world. So in his court there were nine learned men, celebrated under the epithet of the Nava Ratnanee, or Nine Jewels; one of whom was Amara-Deva, who was the king's chief-counsellor, a man of great genius and profound learning, and the greatest favourite of his prince. He it certainly was who built the holy temple which destroyeth sin, in a place in Jamboodweep, where, the mind being steady, it obtains its wishes, and in a place where it may obtain salvation, reputation, and enjoyment, even in the country of Bharata, and in the province of Cicata, where the place of Buddha, purifier of the sinful, is renowned. A crime of a hundred fold shall undoubtedly be expiated from a sight thereof, of a thousand fold from a touch thereof, and of a hundred thousand fold from worshipping thereof. But where is the use of saying so much of the great virtues of this place? Even the hosts of heaven worship with joyful service both day and night.

"That it may be known to learned men that he verily erected the house of Buddha, I have recorded, upon stone, the authority of the place, as a self-evident testimony, on Friday, the fourth day of the new moon, in the month of Madhoo, when in the seventh, or mansion of Ganisa, and in the year of the era of Veekramadeetya 1005."

As the period of Buddha's incarnation is of the highest consequence in the arrangement of the chronology of India, Sir William Jones has very much laboured, and, I think, as far as possible, has determined, that difficult point. He tells us, that the priests of

Buddha left in Tibet and China the precise epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in India; and their information, which had been preserved in writing, was compared by the Christian missionaries and scholars with our own era. Couplet, De Guignes, Giorgi, and Bailly, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of Couplet seems the most correct. On taking, however, the medium of the four several dates, we may fix the time of Buddha, or the ninth great incarnation of Veeshnu, in the year one thousand and fourteen before the birth of Christ, or two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years ago. Now the Cashmirians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after Creeshna, the Indian Apollo, who took so decided a part in the war of the Mahabbarat; and, if an etymologist were to suppose that the Athenians had embellished their poetical history of Pandion's expulsion and the restoration of Ægeus with the Asiatic tale of the Pandoos and Judishter, neither of which words they could have articulated, his conjecture ought not hastily to be derided. Certain it is, that Pandumandel is called by the Greeks the country of Pandion.

The following are two Sanscreet lines, taken from an ancient book of high authority, and cited by our author for the purpose of fixing the precise time of the appearance of this Avatar in India. The observations that follow will advance us still farther in the history of this obscure character.

" Asau vyactah calérabdasahasradwitayè gatè,
" Murtih patálavernâ'sya dwibhujà chicurójj'hità;—or,

" He became visible, the thousand and second year of the Cali age being past; his body of a colour between white and ruddy, with two arms, without hair on his head," (that is, as a penitent.)

Cicata, named in the text as the birth-place of Buddha, he tells us is supposed to have been Dhermaranya, a wood near Gaya, where a

colossal image of that ancient deity still remains: it seemed to him of black stone; but, as he saw it by torch-light, he could not be positive as to its colour, which may, indeed, have been changed by time.

The Brahmins, he adds, univerally speak of the Buddhas with all the malignity of an intolerant spirit, yet the most orthodox among them consider Buddha himself as an incarnation of Veeshnu. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the Buddha, whom Jayadeva celebrates in his hymn, was the Sacyasinha, or lion of Sacya, who, though he forbad the sacrifices of cattle, which the Vedas enjoin, was believed to be Veeshnu himself in a human form, and that another Buddha, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, assuming his name and character, attempted to overset the whole system of the Brahmins, and was the cause of that persecution from which the Buddhas are known to have fled into very distant regions. May we not reconcile the singular difference of opinion among the Hindoos, as to the time of Buddha's appearance, by supposing that they have confounded the two Buddhas, the first of whom was born a few years before the close of the last age, and the second when above a thousand years of the present age had elapsed?*

Of the account given of this curious Avatar, and the doctrines of Buddha, in the Ayeen Akbery, the following is the substance: His father, according to Abul Fazil,† was Rajah Siddown, prince of Bahar, and his mother, named Maia, was delivered of him through her navel. At his birth there shone forth a wonderful light; the earth trembled, and the water of the Ganges rose and fell in a most astonishing manner. The very hour he was born he walked seven steps, and discoursed with an eloquence that ravished the hearts of

* Sir William Jones in Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 93.
† Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 157.

his hearers. The early part of his life is said to have been spent in retirement from the world, and contempt of its grandeur; in acts of severe penance, and in the incessant worship of Mahadeva. He had likewise the gift of prophecy, and could alter the course of nature. It was predicted of Buddha that he should introduce a new religion into the world. The prediction was fulfilled, and the leading principle of that benevolent religion was, that the horrid custom of offering up men and beasts in sacrifice should be abolished. He is said to have had above eighty thousand disciples, who propagated his doctrines through all the neighbouring kingdoms; and ten only of these disciples published five thousand volumes in honour of their master. At the close of a life, whose duration was one hundred years, consumed in acts of exemplary piety and beneficence, it is asserted that Buddha, convoking his disciples together, retracted the pious doctrines which he had, through the whole of that prolonged life, inculcated; telling them that the worship of any deity was *mere delusion*, for that, in fact, no deity presided over the universe; that every thing is the effect of blind chance, and that the world is eternal, but subject, at stated periods, to alternate destruction and renovation. The sacred character of an *Avatar*, however, as we before observed, absolutely forbids the possibility of his speaking in this impious manner, though doctrines very similar are imputed to Buddha by some of the more inveterate of the sect of the Brahmins; and it is in part to explain this difficulty, as well as to account for some other contradictions in his character, that the existence of a second Buddha has been supposed, who flourished many centuries after the first, and who imported those principles into India from Egypt, where Plato, in his Timæus, has expressly asserted that such doctrines were maintained.

It is to Mr. Wilford, who has gone pretty much at large into the history of this Avatar, that we must ultimately recur for a genuine

account both of Buddha and his doctrines. To me, however, it appears exceedingly singular, that both Sir William Jones and himself should coincide in assigning to Buddha an Egyptian origin; for surely the Brahmins, so devoted as they are, and ever have been, to their native country and ancient rites, would never have conferred the exalted dignity and distinguished rank of an AVATAR on a foreigner? The matter is inexplicable, except by the supposition, by no means improbable, that this Avatar took place at the remote period when Misrasthan, or Egypt, formed a permanent part of the great Indian empire; though even that supposition will not account for the asserted difference in features of the images of Buddha from those of the old Hindoo idols.

"Most of the Brahmins insist, that the Buddha, who perverted Divodasa, was not the ninth incarnation of Veeshnu, whose name, some say, should be written Bauddha, or Boddha; but not to mention the Armacosh, the Mugdhabodh, and the Gitagovinda, in all of which the ninth Avatar is called Buddha; it is expressly declared in the Bhagavat, that Veeshnu should appear ninthly in the form of 'Buddha, son of Jina, for the purpose of confounding the Dityas, at a place named Cicata, when the Cali age should be completely begun.' On this passage it is only remarked, by Sridhara Swami, the celebrated commentator, that Jina and Ajina were two names of the same person, and that Cicata was in the district of Gaya; but the Pandoos, who assisted in the Persian (that is, the preceding) translation of the Bhagavat, gave the following account of the ninth Avatar: The Dityas had asked Eendra by what means they could attain the dominion of the world; and he had answered, that they could only attain it by sacrifice, purification, and piety; they made preparations accordingly for a solemn sacrifice and general ablution; but Veeshnu, on the intercession of the Devas, descended in the shape of a Sanyassi, named Buddha, *with his hair braided in a knot*

on the crown of his head, wrapt in a squalid mantle, and with a broom in his hand. Buddha presented himself to the Dityas, and was kindly received by them; but, when they expressed their surprise at his foul vesture, and the singular implement which he carried, he told them, that *it was cruel, and consequently impious, to deprive any creature of life;* that, whatever might be said in the Vedas, every sacrifice of an animal was an abomination, and that purification itself was wicked, because some small insect might be killed in bathing or washing cloth; that he never bathed, and constantly swept the ground before him, lest he should tread on some innocent reptile: he then expatiated on the inhumanity of giving pain to the playful and harmless kid, and reasoned with such eloquence, that the Dityas wept, and abandoned all thought of ablution and sacrifice. As this Maya, or illusive appearance, of Veeshnu, frustrated the ambitious project of the Dityas, one of Buddha's titles is the Son of Maya: he is also named Sacyasinha, or the lion of the race of Sacya, from whom he descended, an appellation which seems to intimate that he was a conqueror or a warrior as well as a philosopher. Whether Buddha was a sage or a hero, the leader of a colony or a whole colony personified, whether he was black or fair, whether his hair was curled or straight, if indeed he had any hair, (which a commentator on the Bhagavat denies,) whether he appeared ten, or two hundred,* or a thousand years, after Creeshna, it is very certain that he was not of the true Indian race: in all his images, and in the statues of Bauddhas, male and female, which are to be seen in many parts of these provinces, and in both peninsulas, there is an appearance of something Egyptian or Ethiopian; and both in features and dress they differ widely from the ancient Hindoo figures of heroes and demi-gods. Sacya has a resemblance

* It is generally supposed that he appeared two hundred years after Creeshna.—M.

in sound to Sisac, and we find Chanac abbreviated from Chanacya; so that Sisac and Sesonchosis may be corrupted from Sacyasinha, with a transposition of some letters, which we know to be frequent in proper names, as in the word Banares. Many of his statues in India are colossal, nearly naked, and usually represented sitting in a contemplative attitude; nor am I disinclined to believe, that the famed statue of Memnon, in Egypt, was erected in honour of Mahiman, which has Mahimna in one of its oblique cases, and the Greeks could hardly have pronounced that word otherwise than Maimna or Memna. They certainly use Mai instead of Maha; for Hesychius expressly says, Μαὶ, μεγά. Ἰνδοί; and Mai signifies *great* even in modern Coptic. We are told that Mahiman, by his wife Mahamanya, had a son named Sharmana Cardama, who seems to be the Samana Codom of the Bauddhas, unless those last words be corrupted from Samanta Gotam, which are found in the Amarcosh among Buddha's names. Cardam, which properly means *clay* or *mud*, was the first created man, according to some Indian legends; but the Puranas mention about seven or eight, who claimed the priority of creation. Be this as it may, Cardama lived in Varuna-Chanda, so called from his son Varuna, the god of ocean.

"The three sects of Jina, Mahiman, and Buddha, whatever may be the difference between them, are all named Bauddhas; and, as the chief law, in which, as the Brahmins assert, they make virtue and religion consist, is *to preserve the lives of all animated beings*, we cannot but suppose, that the founder of their sect was Buddha, the ninth Avatar, who, in the Agnipuran, has the epithet of Sacripi, or Benevolent; and, in the Gitagovinda, that of Sadaya-Hridaya, or Tender-Hearted: it is added by Jayadeva, that 'he censured the whole Veda, because it prescribed the immolation of cattle.' This alone, we see, has not destroyed their veneration for him; but they contend that atheistical dogmas have been propagated by modern

Bauddhas, who were either his disciples or those of a younger Buddha, or so named from Buddhi, because they admit no Supreme Divinity, but intellect."*

The reader has now been presented with all the various opinions, concerning this singular Avatar, of the Indian literati; he has likewise before him such native accounts of the history of Buddha as I could collect from the sources hitherto investigated, which, after all, we see, Mr. Wilford considers as insufficient for the full display of his character and doctrines. These accounts, however, so minute as to the *place* and *time* of his birth, in my humble judgement amply demonstrate the true Buddha to have been an Hindoo, and not a foreigner; a rigid penitent, like SACYA, not a triumphant conqueror, like SESAC. Added to this, Buddha is throughout these accounts considered as the preserver of life, not the destroyer of it; as the benevolent friend of his species, not the merciless exterminator of mankind. It unfolds a stupendous system of human penance, founded on the extensive basis of the Metempsychosis. It exhibits man as coming into the world a miserable *delinquent;* it consequently, in a most powerful manner, confirms the scripture-doctrine of THE FALL; and it finally and unanswerably establishes that grand principle, (let it be denominated *system*, or by whatever other odious term the sceptic pleases,) on which this work originally set out, that throughout Asia, and particularly in India, amidst the immense mass of its mythological superstitions, are to be found, as deeply as widely diffused, the evident vestiges of the primitive patriarchal doctrines, for many centuries preserved inviolably sacred in the first virtuous branches of Shem, the father and founder of the Persian empire; that Shem who I have more than once observed was, in the

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 157.

succeeding ages of idolatry, when the Sabian superstition became general, canonized in the beneficent Mithra.

If, therefore, doctrines at all tending towards *materialism* have been ingrafted on those originally promulged by Buddha, they are evidently a base forgery, because utterly inconsistent with the main principle of genuine Buddhism, viz. an ardent desire in its professors, by means of abstraction *from matter*, by a subjugation of the senses, and a course of the most dreadful austerities undauntedly persevered in, to become worthy of being re-united to the *supreme Spirit* from which the soul of man, however gradually in the progress of ages depraved, originally emaned. For the particular detail of those austerities, and for the more complete developement of the sentiments that impel to them the deluded Samanæan, I beg to refer the reader to the chapter on Hindoo penitents, in the fifth volume of Indian Antiquities, where the struggles of the emerging soul (the basis of the ancient mysteries) are faithfully represented through the various stages of the CHAR ASHERUM; through scenes of suffering which make humanity shudder; through torrent floods, through raging fire, and the profoundest horrors of subterranean darkness.

In considering this Avatar of Buddha, it is impossible to pass unnoticed the reiterated and outrageous attacks, which, founded upon the doctrines attributed to the disciples of Buddha, have been recently made by Mr. Volney on Christianity and the four sacred books, in which its doctrines are principally contained. After having, with so much ingenuity and *truth*, as we have seen above, deduced the name *Christ-os* from the Indian *Chris-en* and *Christ-na*, and after having discovered, as he conceives, the radix of *Jesus* (a Hebrew proper name co-incident with *Joshua)* to YES, the ancient cabalistical name of young Bacchus, the clandestine son of the virgin Minerva; after having informed us, that the Indian preserving

deity, incarnate in Christ-na, rescued the world from the venomous serpent Calengam, (the French orthography for Callinaga,) whose *head he crushed*, after having himself received *a wound in his heel*;*— a remarkable concession, from so inveterate an enemy, though made with the most insidious design; still, however, highly important, since it proves from the mouth of an adversary that I have not, to serve a *favourite hypothesis*, misrepresented the sentiments of the Brahmins on this subject;—after these accumulated insults, Mr. Volney has had the audacity to assert, that even the existence of Jesus Christ is no better proved than that of Osiris, Hercules, and the Chinese Fo; and that the Gospels were not written by the Evangelists, whose names they bear, but are errant forgeries "compiled from the books of the Mithriacs of Persia and the Essenians of Syria, who were only reformed *Samanæans*."†

The writer who thus shamelessly violates the truth of history, and sets at defiance the united attestation of ages, merits no answer but contempt. That contempt, however, is turned into indignation and horror, when all this insult to truth and decency is known to spring from motives hostile to the peace and order of society, and subversive of the best interests of man. Contempt itself, therefore, refuses to be wholly silent on a subject so unspeakably important; and the answer is both easy and obvious, a full refutation of the whole argument being contained in a plain statement of what, at the first view, to every impartial examiner must appear to be the genuine fact. The insane reveries of the Persian Mithriacs, in their romantic legends, are as different from the rational, the pure, the temperate, theological doctrines inculcated in the New Testament, as the unsocial habits, the disgusting austerities, and the haughty reserve, affected by the Indian gymnosophists, were from

* Ruins, p. 202. † Ibid. p. 209.

the cheerful manners, the affectionate communion, and the unostentatious, but dignified, piety of the first Christians. With respect to those more refined points of doctrine, in their respective systems, that may appear to have some resemblance, and there certainly are such points, the similitude may be accounted for and the difficulty explained, by recurring once more to *first principles*. It is necessary for me again to impress on the reader's mind, and, as we are now reaching the conclusion of the AVATARS, it is the last opportunity which I shall have of so doing, the solemn and often repeated fact, that, in the ancient system of theology derived to the Asiatics from their venerable ancestors, the patriarchs, there were certain grand and fundamental truths, which, in the degrading systems of idolatrous worship that succeeded, were still retained, and never could be wholly obliterated from them, even amidst the profoundest darkness of Paganism. The similitude, then, in those points, is to be accounted for by a reference to the pure primæval principles which formed the creed of those patriarchs; and on which, corrupted or misunderstood, all the wild doctrines and superstitious practices of the Mithriacs and the Samanæans were founded.

THE MORAL AND ASTRONOMICAL ALLUSION OF THE BUDDHA-AVATAR.

The general moral tendency of the preceding Avatar, however rigidly severe the precept inculcated, and however overcharged the picture exhibited in it, will be readily acknowledged. A greater Deity than the fabulous Veeshnu of India has declared, that *a pure and contrite heart is to him the most acceptable sacrifice;* and in those sacred oracles, where truth beams forth unobscured by mythology, has denounced his vengeance against that infatuated race who sub-

stituted hecatombs of slain animals for acts of piety, and who shed torrents of bestial blood, while the tear of genuine sorrow never streamed from the moistened eye, nor the sigh of agonizing remorse ever heaved the repentant bosom. The extravagant doctrine of the Metempsychosis, incorporated with the purer principles of genuine Buddhism, and the unbounded excess to which they were carried by some of its votaries, only serve to display to us additional proofs of the folly and imbecility of human nature, even in those who arrogate to themselves the distinguished title of *philosophers*, without the aid of DIVINE REVELATION to direct and restrain it.

The Avatar of Buddha has, not less than the others, a connection with the astronomy of the Brahmins; for, according to their *Sabian* system of superstition, he is the planet Mercury; being considered, in the wild details that relate the sidereal genealogy of their gods, as the son of CHANDRA, the Moon, a male deity in India, by his favourite wife ROHINI, the bright star in the Bull, the Arabian AIN-AL-THAUR and ALDEBARAN of our sphere. From this circumstance of Chandra being his immediate progenitor, his descendants in India are called *Chandra-Bans*, or Children of the Moon, which we have seen is their second great dynasty, the first being called *Surya-Bans*, from their solar descent, like the Heliadæ of Greece. I have already hinted, that, by the marriage of two celestial bodies, the ancients meant no more than their accidental conjunction; and that as the nativity of great personages in India is constantly cast by the attendant seers, the sum of the allegory may imply that Buddha was born when the moon was in conjunction with Mercury in the sign Taurus, or was passing through the stars which form the fourth *lunar mansion*, denominated in India Rohini. Mercury is numbered in India among the beneficent planets. The antiquity of this birth, or conjunction, or transit, or by whatever name the reader may choose to denominate it, we have already seen

is fixed by the circumstance of Buddha's having married ILA, the daughter of ILUS, *who was saved in the ark*, plainly Noah, and marks the real antiquity of those kings of the lunar dynasty who were not wholly imaginary.

The Avatar of Buddha is the last that has appeared. It has already been observed, that the Indian Yugs are very regularly and artificially disposed; the human stature, together with human life and human virtue, becoming less and less in a kind of *geometrical* progression from a hundred thousand years to one hundred years, the brief period of man's existence in the Cali age. In the same manner the number of Avatars in each Yug decreases *arithmetically* from four, and consequently the termination of Buddha's terrestrial residence concludes the third age, himself and Creeshna being the only Avatars that become incarnate in the DWAPAR-YUG.* That Yug consists, according to Brahminical computation, of one million six hundred thousand years; and it is scarcely necessary again to state, that all the YUGS are merely astronomical periods, founded on the basis of the precession of equinoxes of fifty-four seconds, more or less times repeated, according to the number of Avatars in each Yug.

* This is undoubtedly the fact, and yet so strangely inconsistent are the Brahmins, that books of high authority, cited as the reader has seen above, and cited too by the respectable person who originally made the assertion, expressly place the birth of Buddha in the Cali-Yug. I mention this as one of those numerous perplexing circumstances which constantly rise to obstruct the progress of any man who would write an intelligible history of India from native accounts, and which has made my task at times difficult and disgusting in the extreme.

END OF THE DWAPAR-YUG, OR THIRD INDIAN PERIOD.

THE CALCI, OR TENTH AVATAR.

an evident allusion to the DESTROYING ANGEL & WHITE HORSE of the APOCALYPSE.



Barlow sculp.

To the Rev.d Robert Nares, A.M. *and the Rev.d* William Beloe, A.M. *this Plate of the concluding Indian Avatar, symbolical of the* End of Time, *is, in* lasting *remembrance of these kind exertions, by which the history of the* Avatars *and of* Ancient India *[illegible] complete [illegible]lly and gratefully inscribed by* [illegible]

THE CALCI, OR TENTH, AVATAR OF INDIA.

The Calci, or final, Avatar exhibits to us Veeshnu incarnate in the form of an armed warrior, for the purpose of dissolving the universe. The duration of the Cali period, or Yug, in which this is the only incarnation, has already been stated to be 432,000 years, during which scarcely any vestiges of justice or piety will remain among mankind, who, degraded equally in stature as intellectual vigour, are considered at the end of that period as ripe for the scythe that is doomed to mow them down. The Calci, it is recorded, will be incarnate in the house of the Brahmin BISHENJUN, the apparent offspring of that sage by his wife AWEJSIRDENEE*, and will be born in the city of Sambal, towards the close of the Cali, in the month of VAISACH, the Scorpion. In one hand he is represented as bearing aloft a "cimeter, blazing like a comet†," to destroy all the impure, who then shall inhabit the earth; and, in the other, he displays a circular ornament, or RING, the emblem of cycles perpetually revolving, and of which the existing one, including the ten grand Avatars above-recorded, is on the point of being finally terminated. The Calci hero appears leading a *white horse*, richly caparisoned, adorned with jewels, and furnished with *wings*, possibly to mark the rapid flight of time. The horse is represented standing not on terrestrial, but ætherial, ground, on three feet only, holding up, without intermission, the right foreleg, with which, say the Brahmins, when he stamps with fury upon the earth, the present period shall close, and the dissolution of nature take place.

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 241.

† See the Ode of Jayadeva on the Avatars of Veeshnu, at the commencement of vol. ii.

THE ASTRONOMICAL AND MORAL ALLUSION OF THE CALCI-AVATAR.

The above fanciful relation and decorative imagery is evidently in great part, for, I am far from thinking it *wholly*, the result of the astronomical calculations of the ancients, and the general persuasion that prevailed throughout the philosophical schools of Asia, concerning the Αποκαταςασις, or final *restitution* of all things after a certain stated period; viz. when the fixed stars had completed their long revolution eastward. This period is asserted by modern astronomy to be *twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty* years, and is well known to arise from the multiplication of *three hundred and sixty* into *seventy-two*, being the number of years in which a fixed star appears to move through a degree of a great circle. The ancient Hindoo astronomers believed it to be completed in twenty-four thousand years; while the philosophers of the Egyptian and Greek schools thought it would not be accomplished under the protracted period of *thirty-six thousand* years; conceiving the precession of the equinox to be after the rate of one degree in one hundred years, and, consequently, if $1^{\circ} : 100^{y} :: 360^{\circ} : 36{,}000^{y}$. That the more early race of Indian astronomers were also of the same opinion with those of Egypt and Greece, can scarcely admit of a doubt, when it is considered, that, according to the assertion of the great astronomer, Mr. Reuben Burrow*, given in the former volume, the life of Brahma himself consists of 36,000 of *his days* (cycles); that is, in fact, the presumed period of the long revolution of the heavenly bodies, the ANNUS MAGNUS of antiquity. This imagined RESTI-

* See vol. i. p. 302, where the reasons, which induced the Brahmins to fix on the exact period of 432,000 years for the duration of the Cali age, are ably unfolded and learnedly discussed. That Essay is extremely valuable, having been transmitted to me from India, in manuscript, by a friend of Mr. Burrow, and was never before published.

TUTION, which was in its origin a thing purely *astronomical*, they applied *morally* to terrestrial affairs, and bounded, by that sum of years, as well the existence of the present race of human beings as of the sphere which they inhabit. That the tremendous catastrophe in question is fated, according to the Brahmins, to take place in VAISACH, or *Scorpio*, is another circumstance highly deserving notice; since it tends still farther to demonstrate the striking co-incidence of their system with that of the Egyptians, who assigned to the *destroying Typhon* that malignant asterism; under whose envenomed rage Nature was represented as convulsed, and the beneficent Osiris as vanquished. The *fiery* breath of the Scorpion consumed Egypt, and the Hindoo YUGS terminate in a general conflagration. The destructive weapon with which CALCI is armed, "*the cimeter blazing like a* COMET," which are the words of Jayadeva, have a decided reference to that mode of destruction; and the white horse, ever sacred to the Sun through all antiquity, which is to bear that deathful conqueror down to the earth, seems to imply that the solar orb was to be instrumental in its destruction. Of all the conjectured means of effecting that dissolution, Whiston's idea of a COMET thus commissioned seems the most probable; and, in fact, in a Sastra cited by me in the preceding volume, it is expressly said, that, at the end of time, "Seeva, with the ten spirits of dissolution, shall roll a COMET under the moon, which shall involve all things in fire, and reduce the world to ashes*." M. Sonnerat, also, after describing this Avatar from the sources of information which he obtained in India, informs us, that, "on the approach of Calci, the sun and moon shall be darkened; the earth tremble, and the stars fall from the firmament: that then the serpent ANANTA, (or *infinity*, on which Veeshnu reposes,) from his thousand mouths, shall vomit forth

* See vol. i. p. 58.

FLAMES, which shall consume the spheres and all living creatures*." After this dissolution of the mundane system, the Hindoos, not less than the Platonists of old, believe that a new world will spring up, like a phœnix, out of the ashes of the former, and a new Satya commence its vast career.

To return to mythology: by the *white* colour of the horse in the Calci-Avatar, its brilliancy and purity may be typified. Its expanded wings, and its exalted station, which is properly on *celestial* ground, naturally remind us of the Pegasus, which the Greeks elevated to the *sphere*, and the flying warriors, Perseus and Bellerophon; nor ought the stamping of the foot of Pegasus, which, according to some of their mythologists, produced the celebrated fountain Hippocrene, or Parnassus, to be entirely forgotten. These concurring circumstances evince some connection, in very remote æras, between the Indians and Greeks, probably by the way of Egypt; and the fact of that connection is placed beyond all dispute, by the sequel of the Greek fable relative to Perseus and Andromeda being so accurately detailed by the Indian astronomers under the resembling appellations of PARASICA and ANTARMEDA, as given in the former volume†; of which the reader will be pleased to recollect, that one principal object was to shew the origin of the Egyptian and Greek legends in India. But it is high time that we should quit these fablers for the consideration of the more important objects connected with the express intention of the tenth Avatar, which was to designate the *end of time and the dissolution of nature.*

Although, as I have before observed, the romantic notion entertained by the ancients of the destruction of the world, when a complete zodiacal revolution shall have been effected, was *in great part* the result of astronomical calculation, it was not *wholly* so. Over

* Sonnerat's Voyages, vol. i. p. 37, Calcutta, octavo edit.

† See vol. i. p. 356.

all the Higher Asia there seems to have been diffused an immemorial tradition relative to a second grand convulsion of nature, and a final dissolution of the earth by the terrible agency of FIRE, as the first was by that of WATER. The two pillars which are *recorded* by Josephus (whether the asserted fact of their existence in his day, or even after the deluge, be true or not, is of no material consequence) to have been erected by Seth before the flood, and to have been inscribed with the prediction to this purpose of our grand parent, to whom it might have been revealed by the Deity himself, may be adduced as the first proof of such a tradition; and the evidence is so material that I consider myself bound to insert it at length: "The sons of Seth," says this historian, "were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which relates to the *heavenly bodies* and their *order*. That their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon *Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by a deluge of water, and at another time by the violence of fire*, they made two pillars, the one of *brick*, the other of *stone*: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind, and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Seriad to this day*."

I must again beg permission to observe, that neither the *existence* of the pillars nor the *place* of their erection is of any consequence to the general argument: the *record* of the prediction by Josephus is sufficient for my purpose, because it supposes the belief of it general among the ancient HEBREWS. The venerable book of Enoch, expressly alluded to by St. Jude, confirms this traditionary dogma; and, if that production should appear to some of my readers of little

* Vide Josephi Antiq. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 2, sect. 3.

authority, they will find in St. Peter's sublime account of the *final conflagration*, (2 Peter, iii. 9,) an incontrovertible proof, that, among the Jews of his day, the predicted catastrophe by fire was still believed.

From the Hebrew patriarchs the doctrine was, in all probability, derived to the Egyptian priests, who made it known to Plato and the other Greeks, who studied philosophy in the colleges of the Thebais. No words, indeed, can be more express on this subject than those of Plato in the Timæus, where he introduces his Egyptian priest announcing this fatal εκπυρωσις, or purification of all things by fire; declaring to them that the Greek fable of Phaëton's *burning the world should one day be verified**. Zoroaster and Pythagoras, who might have learned this doctrine from the Jews themselves, also affirmed that the dissolution of the world should be by fire. Seneca, a philosopher of the Stoic school, declares, *Ignis exitus mundi est*†; and Ovid, from the same sources, is still more particular in the following well-known lines:

> Esse quoque in FATIS reminiscitur affore tempus,
> Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cœli
> ARDEAT.
>
> Metam. lib. i. fab. 7.

Upon traditions similar to these, and drawn doubtless from the same primæval fountains, have the Indians formed their final Avatar. Their astronomical speculations gave strength and probability to the conception thus formed; but the image by which they represented their ideas is so complex, and, at the same time, so much in unison with that presented to the Christian world, in immediate reference to the same subject, that it is impossible not to suspect that the Hindoos,

* Timæus, p. 22. † Quæst. Natural. cap. iii. sect. 13.

by the same channel through which they interpolated the life of their favourite Creeshna, have, in addition, borrowed a part of the decorative symbols of this Avatar from the Apocalypse, of which, as we learn from Fabricius, there was also a spurious copy early dispersed throughout the East. In that sacred record we read as follows: *And I saw, and behold* A WHITE HORSE; *and he that sate on him had a bow*, (i. e. was armed,) *and a* CROWN *was given unto him, and he went forth conquering and to conquer**. Another mighty angel is, in a subsequent chapter, represented as *descending from heaven;* an Avatar, however, much more magnificently arrayed than any of those of India, for, he was *clothed with a cloud, with a rainbow upon his head, his face like the sun, and his feet like pillars of fire;* this same angel, *standing with his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that there should be* TIME *no longer†*.

There existed an ancient sect of Arabian philosophers, according to Dr. Pocock, who conceived that the period of the existence of the present mundane system consisted of 36,425 years, when every thing living was doomed to perish, but afterwards to be renovated; and thus successively for ever. This renovation of nature and of man they termed their *resurrection from the dead*, and, he adds, they believed in no other. "Statuunt—post spatium annorum 36,425 decursum omnes animantium species interire, ac deinde renovari, natura universi in singulis terræ climatibus bina uniuscujusque speciei paria de novo producente: atque ita seculum seculo continuo succedere, *nec aliam dari resurrectionem‡*."

Mr. Volney, ever forward to aid the cause of infidelity, like those Arabian philosophers, denies also the *resurrection*, and, as he had before insisted, that by the awful event of the death of Christ, was

* Rev. vi. 2. † Rev. x. 6. ‡ See Pocock's Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 145.

merely meant the termination of the career of the star of day at the *winter solstice;* so, by his resurrection, nothing more was denoted than the same star again rising in the heavens, like Osiris from the tomb in which he had been buried by Typhon, the Genius of Evil and Leader of the brumal Signs*. Here again the truth of history and the evidence of the cloud of witnesses who attested that momentous fact, and many of whom, among the five hundred attestators in Galilee, sealed their testimony with their blood, are, with the grossest outrage to decency, set aside to establish the nefarious hypothesis that would rend from man his birth-right, IMMORTALITY. A philosopher, far more illustrious than any bred in the new school of France, the truly virtuous GILBERT WEST, could have taught this author a very different lesson, and to him I must refer him together with all those of his sceptical stamp. The Indians, of whose extravagant astronomical vagaries he and his confederates are so immoderately fond, could also have informed them otherwise; for undoubtedly the doctrine, so ancient and generally diffused among them, of the soul's μετεμψυχωσις, or transmigration, of its μετεμσωματωσις, or migration from body to body, and its παλιγγενησια, or regeneration, is only a corruption, though a dreadful one, of traditional dogmas concerning its immortality, and that resurrection from the grave, which the pious Job so early and so solemnly announced to the whole Pagan world.

* This author insists, with equal ignorance and presumption, that the word "*resurgere*, to rise a second time," can by no means be applied to signify *a restoration to life*, but can only have an astronomical allusion to the sun and peculiar stars ascending above the circle of the horizon. But in the precipitancy of his attack, he forgets the moral relation which the term bears to man's original production from dust, and his resuscitation, through the merits of his Saviour, from the same cold earthy bed.

END OF THE CALI-YUG, OR FOURTH INDIAN PERIOD, AND OF THE HISTORY OF THE TEN AVATARS.

SUCH are the AVATARS OF INDIA, which the reader is, I trust, by this time, sufficiently convinced are ingenious moral allegories, with a great portion of *metaphysics* and *astronomy* couched under them, and throughout deeply interwoven with the traditional history of the first ages of the world; when the Cuthite ancestors of the Indian nation swayed its imperial sceptre. Of those ages I do not even pretend to give any other history; nor, in my opinion, will any more satisfactory history of them ever be given to the public, at least till a correct version of the Mahabbarat shall be edited in Europe, and even then, if a judgement may be formed from the native accounts presented to the reader in the preceding pages, he will have to wander after historic truth in the devious labyrinth of a complicated mythology.

The MAHABBARAT, towards the commencement, informs us, that the first dynasty of India, or that of the SUN, reigned uninterruptedly on its throne during the space of four hundred years; and the second, or that of the MOON, during the more extended period of seven hundred years. This statement approaches nearly to the truth, and is in part confirmed by Sir William Jones, where he tells us that the posterity of Buddha are divided into two great branches, meaning the SOLAR and LUNAR dynasties, and that the lineal male descendants in both those families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of *Oude* and *Vitora*, respectively, till the thousandth year of the present, or Cali, age. Again we have been informed, from the same authority, that the son of Jarasandha instituted a new dynasty of princes in Magadha, or Bahar, the last of which was the celebrated Rajah NANDA, recorded to have been murdered by a passionate and vindictive Brahmin, of the name of Chanacya. Chanacya, by his power and influence, raised to the

throne a man of the Maurya race, named Chandragupta, the undoubted Sandrocottus of the Greeks, who thus, with very little deviation from the Sanscreet orthography, have written the name of that sovereign. This important event, the reader will observe, is fixed by Sir William, to have taken place in the year 1502 before Christ, but the true date of which he will hereafter perceive, by a more recent statement of the same author, to be nearly twelve hundred years later; an anachronism from which no blame whatever can be attached to Sir William, who only states the absurd details of the Brahmins, but which shakes to pieces the laboured fabric of their exaggerated chronology, and gives to the whole the appearance of an Arabian tale. To the ten kings who formed the Maurya dynasty, on the throne of Magadha, succeeded an equal number of the Sunga line; to these, four of the Canna race; and, to them, twenty-one sovereigns of the Andhra family, the line ending in Chandrabija, when it became extinct, and the Magadha throne seems to have been subverted. Empire then travelled southward, and we find seven dynasties established in the Deccan, of which seventy-six princes are recorded to have reigned one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine years, but their names alone, and not their history, are there inserted. With these seven more recent dynasties, however, we have no immediate concern, as they flourished posterior to the Christian æra. On the whole, we may justly conclude the history of the Avatars and of these most early dynasties in the words of our author, who, after affirming that the most authentic system of Hindoo chronology, which he had been able to procure, terminated with Chandrabija, adds, "Should any farther information be attainable, we shall, perhaps, in due time attain it, either from books or inscriptions in the Sanscreet language; but, from the materials with which we are at present supplied, we may establish as indubitable the two following propositions; that the

three first Yugs, or ages, of the Hindoos are chiefly mythological, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their astronomers, or on the heroic fictions of their poets; and that the fourth, or historical, age cannot be carried farther back than *about two thousand years before Christ**."

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 150.

CLASSICAL HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN

RESUMED.

HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST TARTAR, PERSIAN, AND GRECIAN, INVASIONS OF HINDOSTAN.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of the original Form of Government of India under its ancient Maharajahs, or great Rajahs.—Causes assigned of the frequent and successful Invasion of India by their Tartar and Persian Neighbours.—An Account, from Persian Authorities, of the first Settlement of the Provinces directly North of India, called by them the Empire of TURAN, *and by the Arabians* MAVER-AL-NAHAR, *or Transoxana, with an Account of the earliest Irruptions into India of their Inhabitants, known generally under the Name of* ORIENTAL TARTARS.

FROM the regions of doubt and the mazes of mythology we return, with renewed pleasure, in the present book, to explore the field of classical history; a field, however, in these early ages, not wholly unadorned with those gaudy but delusive flowers which spring up in such wild luxuriance on Indian ground. We are now to enter upon the detail of events comparatively modern, to

those already related, and of which the Greeks were, in many instances, at once the eye-witnesses and historians. From all the information we are able to collect concerning India, in the Greek writers, we are led to conclude that Darius Hystaspes opened the way to the first Persian invasion of India, by sending Scylax, of Caryandria, to explore the river Indus and the adjoining coast. This, however, is far from being the fact; for, the Oriental writers, scanty as their accounts are that have descended to us, represent India and Persia as engaged, almost from the foundation of their respective empires, in fierce and sanguinary contests, arising principally from causes which shall presently be explained.

It is a circumstance extremely unfortunate, that the Greeks, in their supreme contempt of foreign literature and history, when they conquered Persia, neglected to procure and treasure up, as such venerable documents merited, the ancient annals of that country, and the neighbouring regions of Asia under the control of its sovereigns. By the frantic deed of firing Persepolis, and similar devastations, who can say what invaluable materials for a complete history of Asia, in its most early periods, may not have been destroyed? The history of ancient India, in particular, could not fail of being greatly illustrated by those annals; for, amidst the perpetual and obstinate wars in which the two nations seem to have been, in the remotest periods, embroiled, founded probably on the notion intimated above in the account of Semiramis, that the Indians were originally emigrated Iranians, if the artful policy of the Brahmins operated towards concealing the disgrace of their country, by refraining from publicly recording the defeats of their kings, doubtless the arrogance and vanity of the conquerors must have induced them to blazon their triumphs on the plains of India. Concerning the events transacted in Persia during the present period of our history, nearly all the classical information that has descended to us has been derived

from two sources, Herodotus, and Ctesias in Diodorus Siculus, once considered of very disputable authority, but whom minute investigation and recent discoveries have demonstrated, as far back as they go, to be very deserving, if not of implicit confidence, at least of a very considerable degree of credit. The former of these historians flourished in the fifth century before Christ, is entitled by Cicero the Father of History, a title of which the experience of twenty-two centuries has fully confirmed the justice, and wrote, in the Ionic dialect, the history of the Persian wars from Cyrus to Xerxes, in whose reign he flourished. The latter, whose accounts have been adopted by Diodorus Siculus, was a native of Cnidos, by profession a physician, and in that character resided seventeen years at the court of Artaxerxes the Second, or *Mnemon*, as the Greeks called him, in the succeeding century. He professes to have taken his accounts, and, from the striking similarity of many parts of his narration to the Indian historic details, inserted by Mr. Wilford, from the Puranas, in the third volume of Asiatic Researches, in all probability he *did* take them, ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν*, *from the royal records*. The principal objection urged against these historians is the romantic nature of many of the facts recorded by them, and the great mixture of Eastern legends and fables with what is asserted for historic truth. These, however, are in the true spirit of all Asiatic history, and confirm, rather than invalidate, their pretensions to be genuine abstracts of Oriental annals, which are all strongly tinctured with the marvellous. There is, indeed, another celebrated Greek writer, who flourished about the same period, and who has treated of the affairs of the Persians, to whom no such objection can be made; but it will be remembered, that the Cyropædia of Xenophon is not properly an historical, but a political and moral, treatise,

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 146.

exhibiting the picture of a great prince and commander, and into which the military exploits of Cyrus, with whatever truth recorded, are introduced to exemplify his own maxims rather than to afford a regular historical detail of Persian events; while his celebrated account of the *retreat of the ten thousand* from the field, in which the younger Cyrus lost his life, is an eulogium on Greek, not Persian, skill and valour, and principally relates to his own personal conduct on that memorable occasion. Xenophon, in no part of his narration, touches on the affairs of India; he only informs us that Cyrus made the Indus *the eastern boundary of his empire**.

The very mention of this circumstance, however, by Xenophon, is highly deserving of our attention, because even the native histories of India, if the Mahabbarat may be relied on, speak of India long before the time of Cyrus, as subject to the control of the monarchs of Iran; in truth, as a conquered country, paying tribute, and the Panjab, or the country watered by the five branches of the Indus, as actually annexed to the Persian territory, and its most eastern river as its boundary. Now it is not very probable, if such were the case, that the greatest of the Persian monarchs, and, according to classical writers, the first of them, (though that is not consistent with the Iranian histories, which make him only the third sovereign of the second, or Caianian, dynasty, the first being that of Pishdad, of which Caiumaras was the head,) that the great Khosru, whose general was the celebrated Rostam, or Hercules of the East, should, after all his conquests in Asia, sit down contented with the loss of India, the brightest jewel in the crown of his ancestors, and make the Indus the eastern boundary of his empire. But, farther, it is even said, in the same authentic register, that Khosru, by his general Rostam, actually carried on a war of long continuance in India, and,

* Xenophon Cyropæd. lib. viii. p. 233.

dethroning its sovereign, subdued the whole country, and placed a successor in his stead, who became the head of a new dynasty. It is, therefore, worthy of inquiry by what means so great, so brave, and populous a nation, as the ancient Indian sare, by both classical and Sanscreet writers, allowed to have been, so early became dependant on the Persian crown, and tributary to its sovereigns; and the review, which I am about to take, will exhibit to us a picture of the Indian empire as it flourished about a thousand years before the Christian æra, which is nearly as high as any profane records, not professedly mythological, can carry us.

The universal diffusion of the Brahmin religion and sciences over the vast continent of India, would lead us, without the confirming voice of history, to suspect that at some remote period there subsisted, in that region of Asia, an empire as widely diffused, under the guidance of one puissant sovereign. Under BALI, if that name imply not rather a dynasty of princes than an individual monarch, we have, in fact, seen that such an empire did flourish. Under Rama, the next in succession, as an Avatar and king, whose capital was Oudhe, in Bahar, there is every appearance of its having remained unbroken. Under Bharat, also, a prince of such extensive power, that his name was conferred on the whole region, there is no reason to suppose that any division of it had taken place. Judishten is generally acknowledged to have been the sovereign of all India; his capital, as we have seen, Hastanapoor, or Delhi. If the preceding assertion be true in regard to these and a few others of the earliest monarchs of Hindostan, and certain of the most renowned among the later, it does not hold good of those of her sovereigns, who reigned in more recent æras, till the period of their absolute subjection to the Mohammedans. Their native princes, with the title of universal monarchs, seem to have been invested only with a delegated power, voluntarily conferred by a numerous and powerful

band of subordinate sovereigns. The very title of MAHARAJAH, or *Rajah of Rajahs*, which the nominal head of that vast empire anciently bore, evidently implies no more than a kind of feudal jurisdiction over chieftains, possessing absolute dominion in their own territories, but contributing a stipulated sum and force to support the grandeur of the imperial throne, and on great national occasions, ranging themselves, with succours proportionate to the extent and population of their respective domains, under the banners of one supreme chief. Nature herself, in fact, seems to have placed, in this respect, a barrier to human pride; forbidding Hindostan, except in the limited way just intimated, to continue long under the control of one overgrown monarch. To bound the ambition of princes, over the surface of the country she drew those vast lines which so peculiarly distinguish that quarter of the globe; those lofty mountains, those deep and rapid rivers, those extensive lakes, those vast deserts of sand and impassable forests, which intersect India. Again, whatever may be boasted by the Indian historians concerning themselves, and the chain of succession remaining for such an extended period of years unbroken, in its two first and greatest dynasties of the *sun and moon*, their accounts are rendered exceedingly suspicious, not only by what we know of the perpetual proneness in mankind to abuse extensive power, but by the corruptions necessarily attending the education of Eastern princes, by the number of royal children yearly produced in the seraglios, and by the spirit of intrigue that in a particular manner constantly agitates the Asiatic courts, amidst so many rivals as the first order of nobility affords for wealth, power, and renown.

Divided by the Oriental geographers into two grand portions, AL SIND, or the tract lying on the Indus, and AL HIND, or the territory stretching on both sides the Ganges, Hindostan, or Superior India, seems, from time immemorial, amidst innumerable

sovereignties of inferior degree, to have cherished, on its two great rivers, two mighty kingdoms, while the Peninsula, till subdued by Akber and Aureng-Zebe, exhibited a third, formed exactly on the same feudal principles. Alexander, on his invasion of the Panjab, experienced the truth of this statement, in the formidable opposition which he met with from Porus; and the report of the ambassadors of Seleucus, at Pallibothra, fully confirms it with respect to the regions adjoining the Ganges. The confederated rajahs, who so long bade defiance to the Mohammedan armies in the Deccan, leave in our minds no doubt of this fact in regard to the Peninsula. The most powerful, because the most remote from foreign invasion, of these kingdoms, seems to have been that on the Ganges, of which Oude, Pallibothra, Canouge, and Gour, were the successive capitals. When the early Mohammedan sultans of the Gaznavide dynasty conquered the Superior India, they politically made Delhi, founded on the ruins of the ancient Hastanapoor, which seems to have been the first imperial city of Hindostan, and stands on the river Jumna that disembogues its water into the Ganges, their principal residence, because it was more central, and placed them nearer their territories on the west of the Indus, which extended even to the capital of their hereditary domain. Afterwards even Lahore and Cabul became the successive abode of those sovereigns, who erected in them magnificent palaces; while the victories of Akber, in the Deccan, gave being to the superb palace and splendid decorations of Agra. The puissant sovereign of the empire on the Ganges, an empire which comprehended Delhi and the Dooab, and extended to the eastern limits of the Panjab, seems to have been for many ages acknowledged Lord Paramount of India; and accordingly we have seen, that, when Judishter celebrated the great festival of the Raisoo, to the capital of that empire all the inferior rajahs flocked, and at a very late period of its glory, an instance related in the

Introductory Work occurs of the pre-eminent grandeur of the Canouge sovereigns, in the following terms:

Sir William Jones, speaking of this part of India, says; "The ancient system of government, which prevailed in this country, seems to have been perfectly feudal: all the territories were governed by rais, or rajahs, who held their lands of a supreme lord, called Balhara; the seat of whose residence was the city of Canouge, now in ruins*." The Ayeen Akbery † exhibits a curious proof of this feudal dependance of the subordinate rajahs, and the necessity of their paying homage in person, at stated periods, to the supreme Balhara; for, at a great festival, or sacrifice, called RAISOO, at which all the rajahs of Hindostan were obliged to attend, and of which the meanest offices, "even to the duties of the scullery," were performed by rajahs; Pithowra, the rajah of Delhi, from contempt of the sovereign, not attending, "that the festival might not be incomplete," an effigy in gold of the absent rajah was formed, and by way of retorted contempt assigned the ignoble office of porter of the gate. The rashness of Pithowra, in the end, cost him his crown and his life ‡.

The profound policy of an institution, like this, must be evident to the reader, since it at once cherished the bond of general union, and preserved in a necessary state of subordination the detached members of a widely extended empire. The strength of this bond, and the degree of this subordination, without doubt, greatly varied, according to the degree of energy and wisdom possessed by the supreme head. If he were valiant and enterprising, the whole civil and military power acted as the counsel and army of one sovereign; if cowardly and effeminate, the bond became relaxed in proportion, and the inferior dependent states insulted the throne they were in-

* Description of Asia, p. 30. † See Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 120.

‡ See the Introductory Work, Indian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 193.

tended to protect and adorn. In truth, the FEUDAL SYSTEM seems to have originated in the East, perhaps first in the wide plains of India; and, by the northern hordes that inundated Europe, and overwhelmed the Roman empire, towards the close of the fourth century, it was imported into Europe; whose system of laws and government gradually experienced, from that introduction, a considerable change. By the same hardy race, the descendants of the Tartar tribes that tenanted the north of Asia, were introduced ARMORIAL BEARINGS, which originally were nothing more than the hieroglyphic symbols, mostly of a religious allusion, that distinguished the banners of the potentates of Asia: for instance, in India, Veeshnu had the eagle, Seeva the bull, Rama the falcon, engraved on their banners; animals respectively sacred to them in their system of mythology. The ancient standard of the Tartars displayed the sun rising behind a recumbent lion; the eagle of the sun was engraved on that of Persia, whose inhabitants worshipped that orb; and it will be remembered that the Hebrew tribes had also their sacred symbolic devices, descriptive of their office, character, or situation.

Had the Indians continued thus united, according to the original intention of their legislator, they would probably have remained, if not unmolested, at least unconquered, by that swarm of foreign, particularly Persian and Tartar, invaders, which harassed, in every æra, their devoted country. But the great distance of many of the provinces governed by those subordinate princes, from the capital of the reigning Maharajah, added to the amazing strength of those lofty fortresses that abound in every region of India, some utterly inaccessible to an enemy, and others impregnable by any force that could be brought against them in those days, were a perpetual temptation to the feudal sovereigns of those provinces to violate the grand national compact, to withhold the stipulated tribute, and engage in acts of rebellion against the supreme constituted authority.

The same species of dark and criminal policy, which, in the present century, induced Nizam-al-Muluck, the self-constituted sovereign of Deccan, to invite Nadir Shah from Persia to invade the Superior India, and which ultimately proved the *destruction* of an empire which he meant only to convulse, in order to escape punishment amidst that convulsion, seems to have been the principal cause of the Tartar and Persian chiefs originally gaining any permanent footing on the Indian shore. Abounding in every species of production that could allure the avarice or gratify the luxury of Eastern despots; with treasure in gold and jewels to pay the vast armies which their fears and their cruelty compelled them to maintain; with the richest manufactures to ornament the body, and with the choicest fruits, odours, and spices, with which to indulge, even to satiety, the delighted senses; that envied country needed not the invitation of the domestic traitor to draw down upon its fruitful territories the horrors and devastation inseparable from invasion. That, however, was precisely the case with respect to the first interference of foreigners with their internal government; for, we are expressly informed by their own historians, that it was principally owing to civil dissensions springing up among themselves, that the aid of Persia was first demanded in the time of Feredun, sixth sovereign of the Pishdadian dynasty, who naturally took advantage of those distractions to bend India, at least in *tributary* obedience, to the power of Persia; but the Persian invasions of India will be the particular subject of the succeeding chapter.

The old tradition, also, frequently intimated above, that the Indians were originally emigrated Iranians, undoubtedly had its effect in urging on their foes, both on the northern and western frontiers, to attempt their subjugation; for, it must here be observed, that, though the monarchs of Iran and Turan were perpetually engaged in hostilities, they were descended from the same primordial

stock, and fought therefore with the embittered animosity of *relations* engaged in contest. Both, however, seem to have eagerly embraced every possible opportunity of oppressing the unoffending race to the south of the snowy mountains. This affinity, not generally known or attended to, added to an incorrect idea of the limits of the two countries just mentioned, has been the occasion of much confusion in the historical accounts of this period and of this part of Asia; since many of the conquests of the Transoxan monarchs in India have been assigned to the Persians, and the honour of some of the achievements of the Persians, with equal injustice, has been conferred on the sovereigns of Turan. The first recorded invasion of India, either by Persian or Indian historians, took place under Feredun, the sixth monarch of the first, or Pishdadian, dynasty, who, according to Sir William Jones, in his *Short History of Persia*, by which I shall principally guide myself in this survey of its ancient events, flourished about the year before Christ 750*, which, though many centuries later than the period generally fixed by the Asiatics for the reign of that prince, who was the son of the great Gemshid, the builder of Isthakar, or Persepolis, is very likely to be its true date. That monarch had three sons, among whom, from a determination formed, at an advanced period of life, to devote the remainder of it to studious retirement, he divided his vast empire. The name of the first was SALM, probably the Salmanassar of Scripture, to whom he allotted SYRIA; that of the second, TUR, to whom he assigned the country lying between the Gihun and Sihun, the ancient Oxus and Iaxartes, from him called TURAN; and that of the youngest, IRAGE, who received the largest and most beautiful portion, including Khorasan and other provinces in the heart of the empire, thenceforth denominated, after himself, IRAN. "This divi-

* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 42.

sion of the Persian empire," says our author, "into Iran and Turan, has been a source of perpetual dissensions between the Persians and Tartars, as the latter have taken every opportunity of passing the Oxus, and laying waste the districts of Khorasan; they have even pushed their conquests so far, as to overturn the power of the califs, and afterwards to raise *a mighty empire on the banks of the Ganges**."

Of the unceasing contests carried on between these jealous and warlike nations, it was impossible for so powerful a race as the Indians to be unconcerned spectators. To the aid of one or the other of the contending parties they were compelled to send a considerable army, and the vanquished enemy generally took the earliest opportunity of revenging the affront, by the plunder of India in its most vulnerable parts. Whosoever conquered, *they* were infallibly the ultimate victims. The Tartars were animated to the attack by the thirst of plunder only; the Persians, in addition to that incentive, were goaded on by their religious principles, for their zealous adoration of the solar orb and elementary fire, to which, in the early periods of their empire, no temples were erected, and indeed, in the latter, only perforated domes were elevated to protect the sacred flame from the violence of wind and rain; the same impetuous zeal, I say, which led them, in their invasion of Egypt, to burn the magnificent temples of the Thebais, in which the grossest rites of bestial idolatry flourished, urged them to carry on implacable war against the kindred superstitions of India, where the animals and objects, by which the attributes of Deity were symbolized, were mistaken for deities themselves, and filled the Sabian devotee with indignation and horror. The reader shall presently be presented with a direct proof of this, on the authority of the Persian historian

* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 43.

Mirkhond, when we come to consider the exploits of Gushstap, the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks, in India. Our present concern is with the Tartars, whose first king, Oghuz Khan, we left, in a former chapter, at a period so early as that of Hushang, the grandson of Cauimaras, over-running with a vast army both Iran and the north of India; and, in the same character of invader and plunderer, we are now to introduce its next most powerful monarch, AFRASIAB, a direct, and not very distant, descendant from Tur, fixed by Jones at very near the year 800 before Christ. Afrasiab was probably the Phraortes and Aphraortes, mentioned by classical writers of the ancient Median histories; for he seems to have poured his victorious armies over all the Higher Asia; and Media, in that general subjugation of its monarchs, might have also fallen under his dominion. Afrasiab, determined to assert his presumed right to the crown of Iran, passed the Oxus with a formidable army, attacked and defeated Nuzar, or Nudar, eighth prince of the Pishdadian dynasty, and, with the ferocity of a real Tartar, killing the vanquished monarch with his own hand, mounted his vacant throne, on which he reigned twelve years; but, at the end of that period, was expelled by the vigorous exertions of Zalzer, *the prince with golden hair*, governor of the province of Segestan, and father of the renowned Rostam*.

Afrasiab, thus expelled Iran by Zalzer, assisted by Rostam, his son, then but a youth, neglected no opportunity of harassing the Persian empire under the two weak princes that succeeded to its throne. At length Caicobad, the first monarch of the Caianian dynasty, so called from CAI, a word signifying *the great king*, and the Cyaxares of the Greeks, under their joint protection, assumed its sceptre and restored its ancient splendor. With Rostam, now mature in years and wisdom, for his general, he marched into the

* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 44, and D'Herbelot, under the article Naudhar.

territories of the Turanian sovereign, and defeated him in a great battle, from which he with difficulty escaped alive. Rostam, for this and other services, was made governor of Zablestan, which, including both Cabul and Gazna, cities situated close on the borders of India, and intimately connected with it by commerce, rendered him necessarily attentive to what was transacting in that region, and eventually caused it to become the theatre of many of the exploits of that celebrated warrior. The death of Caicobad opened a new field for the hostile efforts of Afrasiab against Iran, and he accordingly once more commenced them with such signal success, as, in a battle fought in Mazenderan with Cai-Caus, his successor, to take that king prisoner; but this intelligence having reached the ears of Rostam, he immediately entered Turkestan with a vast army, wasted all before him with fire and sword, and swore that he would lay the whole realm in desolation, if Afrasiab hesitated immediately to liberate his imprisoned master. The outcries and distress of the terrified inhabitants, who were on the point of rising in general rebellion, had the effect of inducing Afrasiab to set the king of Persia at liberty, after he had solemnly promised to recal the terrible Rostam, on whom, in reward, Cai-Caus bestowed his own sister in marriage; and, that so great a genius in military affairs might not remain unemployed, he sent him, with armies proportionably powerful, to conquer Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and all Asia Minor, which he successfully accomplished. The Persian empire now approached to the zenith of its glory, and the mighty Shahinshah only wanted the addition of the empires of Turan and India to be the master of Asia. The same Rostam, if in this period of Persian history we are not hurried away by Oriental writers into the region of fable, under the succeeding reign accomplished that desired event also. That reign, however, was the reign of Cai-Khosru, or the great Cyrus; the reign of enterprize and of glory, when Wisdom planned and Valour

fought. The occasion of Cai-Khosru's invasion of Turan, according to Mirkhond in D'Herbelot*, was the murder of his father Siavek, an appellation in which we can find no traces of the Cambyses of the Greeks, at the court of Afrasiab, where his newly married wife Franghiz was delivered of Cai-Khosru, after the death of that father. Franghiz was the daughter of Afrasiab, and from her Cyrus derived that hereditary claim upon the throne of Turan which he afterwards so successfully exerted. The rival armies were led by the two greatest monarchs that the East ever saw, assisted by the two greatest generals it ever produced. The name of the Tartar general was Peiran Visseh, (the same person mentioned above in the extract from Ferishta,) and Rostam still, at an advanced age, headed the Persians. In this contest Schangal, king of India, is expressly mentioned by Mirkhond as an ally of Afrasiab, and as fighting on his side, together with the *Kah-Khan* of Great Tartary, and this offensive step of Schangal was probably the cause of the consequent descent of Rostam upon India, which both the Indian and Tartar histories enumerate among the conquests of that great warrior. The long and sanguinary contests which had agitated the two branches of the family of Feridun, were to be terminated for a time, at least, if not for ever, by the approaching battle between the great surviving chiefs of it. The Tartar sovereign, owing to his vast superiority in numbers, was at first victorious, and drove the Persians back into their own province of Chorasan, where they fortified themselves in its mountainous districts, till powerful reinforcements arrived; but the result was the total discomfiture of Afrasiab and the destruction of half his army. Retiring, however, into his own dominion, he soon recruited the waste of battle, and rushed with new vigour on the forces of Khosru. But in this second engagement he

* See D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. under the article Siaveh and Rostam.

was again defeated, and had the heavy additional calamity to lose the valiant and faithful Peiran Visseh, over whom Khosru himself shed a tear of regret. The Iranian monarch, determined to follow up his victory, and crush, by one decisive blow, all the remaining hopes of Afrasiab, pursued his march towards the capital of Turkestan, and at Kharesm, on the banks of the Oxus, obtained that memorable victory over Afrasiab, which proved the means of giving its present name to that province; for Khosru, finding he had gained the day, without any material loss on his side, is said exultingly to have exclaimed, "*Kharesmi-bud!* I have gotten an easy victory*!"

The path now lay open to the metropolis of Turan, which Khosru took; and, following the fugitive monarch from province to province, at length overtook him, at the head of a small band of faithful troops, on the mountains of Azerbijian, where, being compelled to surrender, he was put to death by the order of the conqueror, who seems not to have thought his throne secure while Afrasiab lived. The death of this formidable rival left Khosru the undisputed sovereign of those two mighty empires. That he might more conveniently govern both, and be at hand with speed and energy to suppress any attempts at insurrection among the Turanian princes, he fixed his future residence at Balk, the capital of Chorasan, the ancient Bactriana; possibly he might have passed at this capital a portion of the summer months, which he is said, by Xenophon †, to have spent at Ecbatan, to avoid the intense heat of that climate. With the fortitude of a conqueror, in Khosru was united the wisdom of an able legislator, and he assiduously endeavoured, by mild laws and generous treatment, to reconcile the Turanians to their new sovereign, urging the folly of cherishing hostile sentiments against their Iranian neighbours, who sprang originally from the same

* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 20. † Cyropædia, lib. viii. p. 233.

stock, and were again become their fellow-subjects under the same king.

The elegant conciseness with which Sir William Jones has, in a few lines, compressed the whole of the history of Cai-Khosru, induces me to insert it in this part of our account of the Turanian empire, and the rather, because it confirms the circumstance stated in D'Herbelot, that the ruling sovereign of India was engaged in it. "Cai-Khosru, whom the Persians consider as a demi-god, on ascending the throne, determined to revenge the death of his father, and to deliver his kingdom from the tyranny of Afrasiab. He, therefore, assembled all his forces, and gave battle to the usurper, who, on the other side, was supported by the kings of KHATAI and INDIA; but the valour of Cyrus and of his general Rostam prevailed against the united power of so many sovereigns, and Afrasiab lost his life on the mountains of Media. This war is celebrated in a noble poem by the illustrious Ferdusi, who may well be called the Homer of Persia*."

During the vigorous government of Khosru, it is probable that Turan continued under the immediate control of the Persian monarch; but, in the time of Lohorasp, his successor, we find a native prince of its own again on the throne, and bound, by a tributary obligation, to the king of Iran. Lohorasp at first appears to be, and in point of time and order of succession ought to be, the Cambyses of the Greeks, but their characters are so extremely different, the former being represented by the Orientals as a most virtuous and amiable prince, while the latter, according to the Greek writers, was a frantic and merciless tyrant, that the supposition is utterly repugnant to reason. Lohorasp had two sons, the eldest of whom was the famous Gushstap, the Hystaspes of the Greeks, who, prematurely

* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 48.

in the earliest ages, are not, as they are generally supposed to be, wholly imaginary. As the Median kings extended their power over the southern and eastern provinces, adjoining their hereditary domain, they seem to have excited alternately the envy and assaults of the Assyrians and Tartars, between whom they were situated; for, we have seen, at page 220 and those succeeding, that both the Assyrian Ninus and the Scythian Oghuz subjugated them to their control. Indeed, so fatal to that power proved the assaults of these formidable nations, that it was not till the entire subversion of the Assyrian monarchs, that the Median empire again reared its head under Dejoces, generally, but improperly, considered as its first monarch; nor till Cyaxares, by a bold and successful manœuvre, had expelled from his oppressed country the Tartar hordes, which had inundated the Southern Asia, that Media reached the height of its glory as an empire. Now there is a train of indisputable evidence to prove not only that Cyaxares was the Cai-Cobad of the Persians, but that the chief and the Scythians thus expelled were this very Afrasiab concerning whom so much has previously occurred, and those very Turanians, or Oriental Tartars, his subjects, who have been in this as well as in many other instances, confounded with the northern Scythians. It is remarkable that Cai-Khosru is represented by the Asiatic writers to have been the grandson of Cai-Cobad, in the very same manner as Cyrus is stated by the Greek historians to have been the grandson of Cyaxares. It does not appear, however, from Oriental writers, that this expulsion of the invading Tartars took place, in the manner described by the Greeks, after a banquet to which their chiefs had been invited and massacred by Cyaxares, but that they were compelled, by a vigorous and united exertion of the invaded nation, to repass the Oxus*. The subsequent conquest of Assyria, and destruc-

* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 47.

CHAPTER II.

Short Retrospect on the History of the ancient Sovereigns of MEDIA, *according both to Oriental and Classical History.—Its Union with the Persian Throne formed the Basis of the Grandeur of the latter Empire.—The vast Extent of* IRAN, *or* PERSIA, *in the Reign of the early Monarchs of the* CAIANIAN *Dynasty.—Its History, as connected with that of* INDIA, *resumed and continued down to the Period of the Invasion of the latter Country by* GUSHSTAP, *or Darius Hystaspes.*

THE empire of Media, if that name be justly derived from Madai, the son of Japhet, which is the most probable etymon, must have been one of the most ancient in the world, and co-æval with the first establishment of regular governments in Asia. This great branch of the Japhetic family probably for a long time flourished in undisturbed security, owing to the strong and almost inaccessible nature of the country which they inhabited. The lofty mountains of Azerbijian, the Hyrcanian cliffs of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales, noticed by Milton, which are stated in the Short History of Persia principally to have reference to SHIRVAN, the region of *lions*, and DAGHESTAN, the country of *rocks*, provinces widely extending along the inhospitable shores of the Caspian Sea, sheltered the first settlers from the desolating fury of ambition, and on this account there is strong reason for believing that the dynasties of most ancient Median sovereigns, inserted in Herodotus and in Diodorus, from Ctesias, and affirmed by those writers to have reigned during an immense period

in the earliest ages, are not, as they are generally supposed to be, wholly imaginary. As the Median kings extended their power over the southern and eastern provinces, adjoining their hereditary domain, they seem to have excited alternately the envy and assaults of the Assyrians and Tartars, between whom they were situated; for, we have seen, at page 220 and those succeeding, that both the Assyrian Ninus and the Scythian Oghuz subjugated them to their control. Indeed, so fatal to that power proved the assaults of these formidable nations, that it was not till the entire subversion of the Assyrian monarchs, that the Median empire again reared its head under Dejoces, generally, but improperly, considered as its first monarch; nor till Cyaxares, by a bold and successful manœuvre, had expelled from his oppressed country the Tartar hordes, which had inundated the Southern Asia, that Media reached the height of its glory as an empire. Now there is a train of indisputable evidence to prove not only that Cyaxares was the Cai-Cobad of the Persians, but that the chief and the Scythians thus expelled were this very Afrasiab concerning whom so much has previously occurred, and those very Turanians, or Oriental Tartars, his subjects, who have been in this as well as in many other instances, confounded with the northern Scythians. It is remarkable that Cai-Khosru is represented by the Asiatic writers to have been the grandson of Cai-Cobad, in the very same manner as Cyrus is stated by the Greek historians to have been the grandson of Cyaxares. It does not appear, however, from Oriental writers, that this expulsion of the invading Tartars took place, in the manner described by the Greeks, after a banquet to which their chiefs had been invited and massacred by Cyaxares, but that they were compelled, by a vigorous and united exertion of the invaded nation, to repass the Oxus*. The subsequent conquest of Assyria, and destruc-

* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 47.

tion of Nineveh, its capital, by the same monarch, has been already noticed; a conquest which widely extended the power of the Medes over the region of the Higher Asia, and was secured not only by bonds of public alliance, but by the force of domestic ties with Nebuchadnezzar, the reigning sovereign of Babylon, who married the daughter of Cyaxares.

To Cai-Cobad, on the Imperial throne of Iran, succeeded Cai-Caus, called by the Greeks *Darius the Mede*, the word Darius being formed from *Dara*, the Persian word for *sovereign;* and the title, therefore, should more properly be applied to the dynasty than to any individual prince of Persia then flourishing. In his reign, with the assistance of his successor, Cai-Khosru, the great Cyrus, the Babylonian kingdom was added to this amazing empire; and, at his death, Khosru, by hereditary right king of the empire, properly called Persia, became the undisputed sovereign of all the Greater Asia. But even this immense domain could not satisfy the boundless ambition of Khosru, who soon subjugated Asia Minor also, and, by the invincible Rostam, extended his sway over Syria and Arabia; the Gulph of that name and Æthiopia forming the southern, and the Caspian and Euxine Seas the northern, limit of his empire; while the distant Ægean Sea washed it on the western, and the Indus on the eastern, frontier. Although the Indus be here stated, on the authority of Xenophon*, as its eastern boundary, that is only to be understood in a geographical sense; for, so rich a prize as India, and so near a neighbour to the provinces over which Rostam and his brave sons successively enjoyed little less than a kingly authority, can scarcely be supposed to have been, under this vigorous reign, absolved from that tributary dependance under which it was holden by former monarchs of Iran. In truth, the extracts from the native

* Cyropædia, lib. viii. p. 233.

Hindoo records in Ferishta positively assert the continuance of that dependance, in the following passage:—Speaking of the last sovereign of the race of Barage, (he means BAL RAJAH; for, the descendants of Bali Rama still reigned on the throne of Oude, in Bahar, where, in fact, this history places the capital of Barage,) Ferishta tells us that " Keidar, a Brahmin, from the mountains of Sewalic, having collected a great army, invaded him, and having in the end entirely defeated the king, wielded the sceptre of government with his own hands. When Keidar, the Brahmin, had claspt the bride of royalty in his arms, being a man of learning and genius, he became a great king; but, *carrying the trappings of Cai-Caus and Cai-Khosru on his shoulders, he was constrained, by way of tribute, to send them annual gifts.* In the latter end of his reign, one Shinkol, a native of Kinnoge, (the Shangal alluded to before,) having strengthened himself, took possession of Bengal and Bahar, where he had been governor; and, leading a great army against Keidar, after many battles had been fought with various success, the fortune of Shinkol at length prevailed*."

It is not my intention to enter in this place into any more lengthened detail than has been given, in the preceding chapter, concerning the warlike acts of the mighty Khosru and his general Rostam; I mean only to shew that India, during the extended period of their glory in Asia, was not, as the Greek accounts insinuate, by making Hystaspes the first explorer of the Indus and the adjoining districts, wholly independent of the Persian empire. The fact is, that Rostam, by holding the large principalities of Sigestan and Zablestan, the ancient Drangiana and Arachosia, closely confining on the Western India, as fiefs, from the kings of Persia, possessed the key that opened an immediate passage into the heart of India; for, it has

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 18, idem edit.

before been remarked, that Cabul is the capital of the latter province, and it is an old Indian adage, that nobody can be called the master of India who has not taken possession of Cabul. The extensive conquests of Cyrus, in Asia the *Greater* and the *Less*, have been already glanced at, to which Mirkhond and other Eastern historians bear full testimony, with only the difference of ascribing the honour of the greater portion of them to Rostam. In the disputed circumstance of the death of Khosru, they agree rather with Xenophon than Herodotus, recording that death to have happened in philosophic composure, in the plenitude of years and glory, and not in a disgraceful war with the Massagetes, as stated by the latter*, whose relation is much more applicable to the destruction of Afrasiab, the sanguinary tyrant of Turan, put to death for those enormities by Khosru. It is most probable, therefore, that the Greek historian, who undoubtedly had heard some resembling story, during his abode in Asia, concerning the destruction of an army and chieftain engaged, as the Persians incessantly were, with the Turanian barbarians, has, by a mistake easily enough to be accounted for in a foreigner, applied to Cyrus a catastrophe which might have actually befallen one of his generals, or possibly, Afrasiab himself, the tyrannical and powerful antagonist of the Persian monarch.

The fury of his frantic successor, Cambyses, happily for the repose of India, took a southern direction, and, after laying waste Egypt, exhausted itself in destructive expeditions to the country of the Hammonians, in the Lybian deserts, and in wild projects to subdue the Æthiopians. Chronology marks Cambyses for the Ahasuerus of Scripture, in whose correct page, doubtless with reference to this last insane attempt, it is said his kingdom extended *from* INDIA *even unto* ÆTHIOPIA. The preceding history, how-

* Herodotus, lib. i. p. 213.

ever, it should be remembered, is the Grecian account of Cambyses, who is very differently known to the Orientals both by name and character. That name is LOHORASP, and that character, as before observed, not cruel and tyrannical, but virtuous and amiable*. The softer Greek name of Cambyses was probably derived from the Persian KAMBAKSH, or *granter of desires*, one of the numerous titles often assumed by the Persian sovereigns, in addition to their patronymic name, on ascending the throne. For a similar reason, doubtless, we find the same name bestowed by the Greeks on Siaveh, the native appellation of the father of Cyrus. By Mirkhond he is stated to have passed his long reign principally at Balk, in Khorasan, imitating, in this respect, his predecessor, whose object was, by a residence in that most eastern province of Iran, to overlook and keep in awe, by his presence, his new subjects of Turkestan. Lohorasp, through thus himself remote from the storms of war, had a general very celebrated in Asiatic annals, of the name of GUDERZ, who is recorded to have pushed his conquests very far in the west, and, ravaging all Syria, to have returned to his government of Babylon loaded with the wealth of Palestine, whose capital, Jerusalem, he sacked and plundered, and attended by innumerable captives. This man, therefore, surnamed Bakht-Nassar by the Persians, must have been the Nebuchadnezzar of sacred history; and to him alone, if the Persian records truly state that no intermediate monarch reigned between Cyrus and Lohorasp, must be attributed all the outrages in Egypt, supposed to have been committed by Cambyses.

The Persian histories make not the least mention of the usurpation of Smerdis, the Magi, of the murder of that impostor by the seven conspirators headed by Hystaspes, nor of the ingenious stratagem to effect the neighing of the horse, at sun-rise, put in practice by the

* Jones's Short History of Persia, p. 49.

groom of the latter, to secure him the Persian diadem. They state Hystaspes, or GUSHSTAP, as they write the name, to have been the eldest son of Lohorasp, a prince of great talents, but of a haughty and martial disposition, constantly engaged, during his youth, in rebellious projects against his father's life and throne; and, in his more mature years, endeavouring once more to rend Turan, the daughter of the nominal sovereign of which empire he espoused, from its tributary dependance on the kings of Persia. At length, the prudent resignation by Lohorasp of a sceptre, which increasing years and infirmities rendered him unable to wield with energy, saved himself from public degradation, while this unexpected act of paternal kindness contributed to reclaim a son whom no menaces could daunt and no open hostilities subdue. For a long period they lived together in one palace in the utmost harmony and affection. The dethroned monarch, at length disgusted with the pomp of courts, laid aside every vestige of his former dignity, invested himself with the habit of a priest, and retired to spend the remainder of his life in the solitude of a cloister, which he built for that purpose. In that solitude he passed thirty years in meditation and prayer, but it afforded not the repose for which he languished to his closing life; being, at the end of that period, barbarously massacred with the other Magi in an irruption of the Turanians. On this voluntary retirement of his father, Hystaspes having, by his marriage with the daughter of the king of Turan, more firmly than ever established the union of the two kingdoms, quitted Balk as an imperial residence, and fixed his future abode at Istakar, called by the Greeks Persepolis, where afterwards he became the decided patron of the new superstition, which, under Zeratusht, was then springing up in Persia, and with the insignia of which he probably adorned the lofty walls and portals of that superb palace, hewn, as its name implies, out of the living rock.

Concerning the age and meaning of those sculptures, many wild

and baseless conjectures have been formed, but, though generally attributed to the remote æra of Cayumeras and Gemshid, of which latter sovereign, in fact, they bear the name, being known to the natives by that of TAKHTI JEMSHID, or *throne of Jemshid*, the Sabian mythology, and particularly the *solar adoration*, every where conspicuous throughout those stupendous ruins, appear indubitably to mark for their adorner, at least, if not for their founder, the imperial Archimagus. It is possible that Jemshid, who is recorded to have first introduced, among the Persians, the use of the solar year, and instituted, in commemoration of it, the magnificent festival of the NAURUZ, when the sun enters Aries, originally founded that magnificent edifice, the wonder and ornament of Asia, and engraved on its walls the birth-day procession of nobles offering presents, usual on that solemnity, till a very late period, in the courts of the Persian sovereigns, and even of the Indian emperors, with which the massy porticoes and winding staircases are covered; yet it is more than probable that *Chelminar* is indebted for no small share of its now-faded grandeur to Hystaspes; that Hystaspes, who was inferior only to Cyrus in the magnificence of his designs and in the extent of his power; under whose protection the arts and sciences advanced rapidly towards maturity in Persia; and by whose vigorous intellect the ancient prejudices, both in religion and government, were spurned, as is evidenced not less in his patronizing the reformer Zeratusht, than in his first establishing a formidable marine, exploring the shores of the Indus, and navigating the Persian and Arabian Gulphs. Were its ranging columns and the general plan of that immense fabric surveyed with an astronomical eye, I have no doubt but that, like the Stonehenge of our Druids, it would afford us a new insight into the scientific attainments in that line of the ancient Persians, the immediate pupils of the Chaldæan school. Whatsoever may be the decision of the reader concerning the dis-

puted age of Istakhar, no doubt can possibly be entertained of that of NAKHTI ROSTAM, two leagues distant from Persepolis, since it could not have been designed before the hero was born, and the mighty exploits had taken place, which the ornamental sculptures on that monument were intended to celebrate. Now, allowing to Rostam the very extended age which the Persian historians assign him, that hero (or rather the first and most celebrated of the name; for, to give sense or credibility to the Eastern relations concerning him, we must suppose there to have been a succession, or dynasty, of them reigning in Sejestan) could not have been long dead when Hystaspes mounted the Persian throne; which circumstance, added to the impressive one of the mystic designation, (a direct allusion to the worship of the sun and of fire,) engraved on the front of that rocky shrine, forbid us to hesitate at pronouncing Hystaspes to have designed it in honour of the friend and defender of his family. The reader will observe that Istakhar is, throughout these short strictures, considered as a *palace*, not as a *temple*, in which light some eminent antiquaries have regarded these ruins; for, I am aware that the erection of temples was contrary to the principle of the reformed religion of Zeratusht, and it was that very principle which urged them on with such furious zeal to destroy the sublime edifices first of Egypt, and, as we shall presently see, of India itself. If an objection should be started to this hypothesis, which gives the honour of founding Persepolis to Hystaspes, on the ground of the inscription not being written in the Zend character, which was then in use, and which, in that case, must have been long ago deciphered by learned Persians, the most satisfactory answer to this, and indeed to all similar questions concerning them, is to be found in Sir William Jones's Essay on the Persians, who thinks it may reasonably be doubted whether those characters are really *alphabetical*: he is of opinion "that they are secret and sacerdotal; or, perhaps, a mere

cipher, of which the priests alone had the key *," and which, consequently, has perished with them.

Concerning Zoroaster himself, the peculiar purity of the original dogmas which distinguished his enlightened sect, and the rapid diffusion of their influence, either by the force of arms or of argument, through nearly the whole of Asia, a diffusion so fortunately introductory (perhaps intended to have been so by a supreme all-ruling Providence, during the blind and continued infatuation of the Jews) to the still purer doctrines of Christianity, in a few centuries about to break forth and illumine the Pagan world; concerning that theologue, I say, the tenets which he propagated, and as explained by himself, the *innocent* symbol which characterized his almost Christian ritual, the FIRE, on which, radiating from the ark of the covenant, the Hebrews themselves were taught to look with a kind of religious awe, as the sublime *kebla* of their devotion; such extensive strictures have already occurred in the pages of the Indian Antiquities, as to preclude all necessity of resuming a subject which otherwise would naturally claim a distinguished place in a work professedly retrospective on the interesting events that anciently took place on the great theatre of Asia. One remarkable fact only, alluded to in a former page †, as more immediately connected with this period of our history, again presses for notice; I mean the journey of the Persian sage in company with Hystaspes, probably in disguise, to the woody recesses of the Brahmins in the Superior India, to obtain initiation into the mysteries of their religion and the wonders of their philosophy. This visit of Hystaspes was, probably, the secret cause of the resolution which that monarch afterwards took, to be better acquainted with a country which produced and cherished, in ease and undisturbed retirement, a race of

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 57.

† See page 277 preceding of the second volume, and the quotation there from Ammianus.

men so admirable for their wisdom and so renowned for their austerities. It is the duty of the historian to explore the secret springs of great public events, and notwithstanding his invasion of India, as related by Herodotus, is generally considered to have been the result of ambition and avarice united, I have very good authority, which shall presently be adduced, for announcing that *religion*, a vehement desire of overturning the Brahmin superstition, and erecting upon its ruins the pure theism of Zeratusht, was the principal inducement to that irruption. In fact, that superstition, from the multiplied idols, bestial, human, and compounded of both forms, that crowd the walls of the Indian pagodas, which, though to the devout Indian they only present the idea of the personified attributes of God, yet to the abhorrent Persian appeared as so many direct objects of adoration, added to the innumerable pagodas themselves, which at that time covered the face of the country, must have been extremely offensive to a zealous advocate of the reformed religion of Persia; and thus Hystaspes, while he respected the Brahmins for their love of science and their devotion to philosophy, might deem himself bound, at all hazards, to attempt their conversion, and, like Cambyses in Egypt, to root out the very vestiges of an idolatry so base and abominable. Such was the powerful incitement, or, at least, such was the plausible pretence, that, in after-ages, urged on the furious Mahmud, and the still more sanguinary Timur, to overwhelm with desolation the fairest region, and devote to slavery and massacre the happiest people, of Asia.

There is no occasion for our entering any farther into the history of events in Persia during this long reign, than as those events bear reference to India. For that reason, we shall pass over, as irrelevant to our subject, all that is related by Herodotus concerning the long sack and subsequent capture of Babylon by this monarch, and his subjugation of the Thracian territory. In respect to the same writer's

relation of his unsuccessful expedition against the Scythians, which, of all those events, has alone any connection with the events of this history, we shall extract an account of the occasion and progress of it from Oriental sources, which, however, will be found widely different, as to the conduct and the result of the campaign, from the melancholy detail given us by Herodotus; since Darius is by those writers recorded to have returned from it, as might well be expected from so able and experienced a general, crowned with the most brilliant success. Whether, after all, the occasion of the Scythian war be rightly or erroneously stated by Mirkhond, the motive for that expedition was probably different from that assigned by the Greek historian, viz. the irruption of the Tartar hordes one hundred and twenty years before, in the time of Cyaxares; for, since that period, successive inter-marriages had strengthened the bands of connection between the two royal houses; and Darius himself, we have seen, had married the daughter of the Turanian emperor.

It originated, according to Mirkhond, in religion; in the anxious desire of Hystaspes to diffuse, over the continent of Asia, the new faith of Zeratusht. With this important object in view, he wrote an urgent letter to Argiasp, the reigning sovereign of Turan, and his near relation, using every argument which his superior genius and fervid devotion to reformed Sabaism could invent, to induce him to adopt the creed of the Persian theologue. The Turanian monarch, however, was so far from being convinced by the eloquence of the royal tiro, that he returned an answer which at once reproached Hystaspes for deserting the faith of his ancestors, and was replete with sarcastic reflections on the novel doctrines propagated by the upstart prophet whom he protected. Roused to revenge at this premeditated insult, Hystaspes and his valiant son Asfendiar immediately took the field, with all the forces of the empire, and, entering Turan, advanced to give its sovereign bat-

tle. After a contest of great obstinacy and slaughter, in which half the royal family of Turan perished, victory declared for the former; and, before Argiasp could levy a new army or rally the routed one, the victorious Persians were in his capital, where every thing was given up to pillage and the licentious outrages of an enraged soldiery. Having taken this signal revenge for religion derided and a throne insulted, Hystaspes marched triumphantly back to his own dominion, where, from one or other of those various causes, jealousy, or suspicion, which distract Eastern courts, he shortly after tarnished his laurels by imprisoning the prince, who was the partner of them, in a strong fortress, on the summit of a lofty hill, called *Gaird-Kuh*, or the Round Mountain, in the country of Rudbar*.

The hostile flames, lighted at the new altar erected by Zeratusht to the sovereign power who formed the elements, still burned with unextinguishable fury in the northern Asia. Goaded by the recollection of the aggravated injuries recently received from the Persian monarch, his slaughtered relatives and ruined capital, Argiasp, now, in his turn, meditated a deep and dreadful blow at the very existence of the empire of Iran, and the holy impostor, (as he deemed him,) who had instigated Hystaspes to invade his dominions. Balk, the capital of Corasan, was at that time the hallowed residence of Zeratusht and the Magi, his disciples. The hoary monarch who had once wielded the sceptre of Iran, secluded in the cloister which he had erected, in that metropolis devoted the few moments of his declining life to meditation and prayer. But soon the sacred fires were to be quenched by the blood of the ministering priests, and the ashes of royalty to be blended with those of the altar, which its power had protected. Indefatigable in collecting an army

* Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 66.

adequate to the full accomplishment of the extensive destruction which he intended should overwhelm his enemies, the Turanian sovereign rushed forwards at the head of the formidable forces he had raised, to the attack of Balk, to which he instantly laid siege: and, having at length taken it by storm, with Tartar ferocity, put all the inhabitants indiscriminately to the sword, subverted the grand fire-temple, and sacrificed, as victims to his rage, Zeratusht and the seventy priests, who were in the act of officiating at it. Enfeebled by age, but retaining still a portion of the martial vigour which distinguished his juvenile years, the veteran Lohorasp, issuing from his cloistered retreat, at the head of a few faithful followers, in vain attempted to stem the deluge of Barbarians, who were spreading desolation through the sacred city. He fell early in the unequal contest; and, no obstacle then remaining to obstruct his march, Argiasp pressed on with his victorious army into the centre of Persia, where so great a panic had seized the Persians, that the prudent Hystaspes did not think it proper to make an immediate attack upon him. He suffered him to waste his strength in long and fatiguing marches and in attacks on fortified towns, which daily diminished his numbers. Then (at the united request of the nation, who loudly called for his release) liberating his son Asfendiar from confinement, he sent him, with a fresh and powerful army, against troops emaciated by fatigue and thinned by disease. The attack was made with such irresistible impetuosity that the Turanian army was compelled to make its retreat out of Persia with more rapidity than they had advanced into it, and were driven with great slaughter beyond the limits of the northern mountains.

It was now evident that Asia could not, at the same time, hold two monarchs of such power and military spirit as Hystaspes and Argiasp; the entire subjugation, or rather extirpation, of the latter was therefore determined on in the court of Persia, and Asfendiar

only paused on the Scythian frontier to get his army recruited among the hardy race of the ancient Bactrians. Having obtained those recruits, and being joined by his elder brother Bashuten, sent by Hystaspes, and with powerful reinforcements from the heart of Persia, these determined warriors pursued the fugitive monarch over the wide champaigns and rugged forests of the Tartarian deserts, till they compelled him and his whole court at length to take shelter in one of the strongest fortresses he possessed, in a remote part of his dominion. As, on the sack of Balk, Argiasp had seized and sent captive into Turan, the sisters of Asfendiar, and as these constantly attended the court, it was necessary to make use of stratagem to procure the return of the princesses without injury: Asfendiar, therefore, himself boldly undertook and successfully accomplished an expedition of great hazard for their rescue. To the fortress in question, says Mirkhond, there lay open only three roads. The first, plain, and easily passable by caravans, with plenty of fine pasture on each side for cavalry; but withal so long and circuitous, that it would require several months for an army to approach the city by that avenue: to this road was necessarily confined the march of the great body of the Persian army and the heavy baggage. The second road was extremely steep and rugged, and impassable by carriages; but, at the same time, so direct, that, in a month, at farthest, the fortress might be reached. The third was still nearer, but lay through woods and morasses, and over mountains covered with snow. The second of these roads was that on which a large selected body of cavalry, with Bashuten at their head, was ordered to advance with all possible celerity. On the third road, Asfendiar determined to force his way through every surrounding obstacle on the secret expedition which he meditated. After unfolding his plan to his brother Bashuten, he set off from the Persian camp with

seven other noblemen disguised as merchants, carrying with them jewels and other valuable commodities, small of size, but in great request at the courts of Asia. Under this disguise, which was a sure passport in the East, where commerce has ever been so highly respected, they passed through the hostile camp, and arrived safe and unsuspected at the city adjoining to that fortress. Here the splendor of the jewellery and other articles of traffic which they had brought attracted general notice, and the fame of their arrival soon reached the court, at a period when kings themselves did not indignantly disdain sometimes to assume the honourable character which these strangers bore. But their principal recommendation to royal notice was the alleged plea of having been driven from the Persian dominions by the tyranny and extortions of its monarch, from whose barbarous exactions they professed to have fled for protection to the court of Turan. Presents of high value, the usual tribute on supplicating the patronage of the despots of Asia, accompanied this address, and by degrees these mercantile strangers grew into such high favour at the court of Turan, and so far had the disguised Asfendiar wrought himself into the confidence of Argiasp, that a sumptuous banquet was prepared by the king for the princely adventurer. After a certain period, when he thought the Persian forces had arrived near enough to execute their commission, he obtained permission, in return, to provide an entertainment, suitable to the high dignity of the guests, for the whole Turanian court, in an extensive meadow adjoining the city. On that day, the king, his family, the captive princesses, and all the attendant officers of state, presuming that the invading army was still at a great distance from the scene of their festivity, resigned themselves to the unbounded joys of the banquet; but the numerous fires kindled all over the plain, by which that banquet was prepared, in addition, perhaps, to signals like our rockets, thrown

into the air, which we know to have been immemorially used in the campaigns of Asia, were the directing flames that lighted the Persian cavalry from the woody ambuscades in which they lay hid to vengeance and to glory, if, indeed, true glory can ever really be united with sentiments of vengeance. At that luminous signal, the impetuous phalanx of Persia burst forth from their retreat, and, while one part surrounded the field, and all the avenues that led to the city and fortress, the other part acted the bloody office of executioners to the assembled nobles and terrified citizens. Asfendiar himself, at the head of his seven heroic comrades, and now arrayed in a different attire from that of merchants, having first secured his sisters, and sent them back under a strong guard to Persia, along the road by which the cavalry had arrived, with his own hand slew the unhappy sovereign of Turan; while those in his train devoted to promiscuous slaughter the principal grandees of his court. The chief booty obtained, says our historian, on this memorable occasion, was a throne of gold, set with precious stones, of exquisite workmanship, and a *white elephant*. These he sent into Persia as presents to his father, and followed them himself as far as the mountains of Caucasus, whither we shall presently return to him, after detailing another important event of this reign materially connected with the subject of our history, and prominently conspicuous in the ancient annals of Asia*.

In the introductory work†, when speaking of the ancient commerce carried on between India and Persia, I had occasion to observe, that the latter nation, from the earliest periods, were equally restrained, by the precepts of religion and the dictates of policy, from engaging in maritime expeditions. The element of water, not less than that of fire, was the object of their superstitious veneration;

* Mirkhond Hist. sect. 16.

† See Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 406.

and, while that superstition made them shudder at the idea of polluting it themselves, by any species of filth, thrown from vessels, the dread of invasion from a quarter in which they were so defenceless induced them to prohibit the entrance of foreigners into their dominions, by any maritime inlet, under penalties extremely rigorous. To render that event impossible by the channel of their two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, they effectually dammed up the mouths of those rivers with immense engines; to remove which cost Alexander, when his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, sailed, by the route of the Persian Gulph, into Mesopotamia, no small portion of time and labour. At length, roused to a sense of danger by the accounts brought to the court of Persia of the maritime genius of Greece, and of the great naval armaments fitting out in the various ports of that nation, their brave and aspiring neighbour, the Persian sovereigns broke through the fetters of their ancient superstition, and, by the assistance of the Phœnicians, and even of the Greeks themselves, I mean the Ionic and Carian Greeks, constructed a navy, and ploughed the forbidden ocean. In this new project, ambition also had a considerable share, and it was a desire of ascertaining the exact point at which the Indus meets the ocean, as well as of exploring and conquering the western provinces of India, that induced Darius to fit out at Caspatyrus, a city on the Indus, and in the territories of Pactyia, the modern *Pecchely*, the fleet so celebrated in history, of which he gave the command to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandria, a city of Caria, and sent with him others in whose nautical skill he placed an entire confidence, with express orders to sail down the current of that rapid river; diligently to observe the countries that lay on either side of it; to enter the southern ocean beyond it; to coast along the Persian and Arabian shore; to enter the Red Sea by the Straits of Babelmandel; and, finally, sailing up that Gulph, to land in Egypt, at the same place whence Necho,

king of Egypt, some time before, dispatched a fleet of Phœnicians with orders to sail round the coast of Lybia*, and by that route return westward to the capital of Persia. By Lybia our historian means, in general, Africa, and the port where they landed, was probably Arsinoe, situated on the extreme western point of the Gulph, near which the modern Suez stands. This tedious, and, for those days, hazardous, navigation, Scylax and his companions successfully accomplished in the thirtieth month from its commencement; and, arriving at the court of Susa with the desired intelligence, animated that monarch to attempt the conquest of the western region of India. This conquest, according to our historian, he afterwards fortunately effected; but he acquaints us with no farther particulars concerning it. In his third book, however, enumerating the provinces subject to Persia, which, under Darius Hystaspes, are said to have amounted to twenty in number, and the tribute derived from them, India ranks as one of them, and the tribute of the newly-conquered province is stated at four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboic talents, amounting to nearly a third part of the whole revenue of his other dominions, which was fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Euboic talents, or £2,807,437 sterling†. The Indian tribe, he tells us, was paid in gold, while that of all the other satrapies was paid in silver. Herodotus is very particular in relating this fact; for, in one place, he expressly declares they paid six hundred talents in *golden ingots;* in another, that it was three hundred and sixty *talents of gold,* the number of the days of the ancient Persian year. The reason of the Indian tribute being paid in gold rather than silver is properly assigned by Rennel, from the Ayeen Akbery, that, " the eastern branches of the Indus, as well as

* Herodotus, lib. iv. p. 270.

† Ibid. lib. iii. p. 227.

some other streams that descend from the northern mountains, anciently yielded gold-dust*."

As this maritime expedition was entrusted to a Greek admiral, the account of it by a Greek writer is most likely to be correct. The Persian historian, however, makes little mention of it; he only observes, that Asfendiar, the son of Hystaspes, on his return from the conquest of Turan, crossed the mountains of Caucasus, with intent to survey the Indian Ocean, and compel the princes bordering on the Indus to renounce idolatry and *embrace the reformed religion of Zeratusht*†. If this prince pursued his march so far southward as to reach the shore of Guzzurat, washed by the Indian Sea, his line of conquest must have been extensive indeed, and satisfactorily accounts for the large annual tribute obtained by this vast acquisition of territory to the Persian crown: most probably, however, the fleet in question attended the progress of the invading army, and, as much as possible, facilitated its motions and assisted its operations.

Although we did not think it necessary to enter into any particular detail concerning the events of the Ionian war, commenced at the beginning of this reign, because not immediately connected with those of the Indian history, yet, before we close our review of the life of Hystaspes, it is important to notice that his dispute, or, rather, the disputes of the governors who commanded in the distant provinces that bordered on Greece, with that warlike people, was the certain, though remote, origin of all those violent contests which afterwards convulsed the two states, and ultimately terminated in the subversion of the Persian empire. The immense distance of the Grecian republics from the capital of Persia, from which they were separated by the great Tauric range

* Rennel's Memoir, p. 25, edit. 1788.

† Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 68.

that runs through Asia, and their apparent insignificancy as a nation, added to the endless feuds and jealousy that raged among themselves, would probably have for ever prevented their becoming an object of apprehension to the Persians, had it not been for their great experience in maritime concerns and the restless ambition of some of their chiefs, whose intrigues or perfidy brought down upon them the vengeance of the satraps of Sardis. The greater the exertions made by the Persians for the establishment of a navy, the more sensible did they become of the growing power of that republic, the more feelingly did they lament their own inferiority on that ocean, upon which, as upon land, they equally now aspired at uncontrolled dominion. It was not, however, the Greeks of the distant islands that yet excited any violent sensation of alarm at the Persian court, it was the Greeks settled in the nearer districts of Ionia and Æolia, whose history, or, at least, all of it that is important to our subject to be related, is as follows. – The rich and flourishing kingdom of Lydia, previously to its reduction, had early cherished, on its extensive coast, successive colonies from Athens, Thebes, and the other great cities of Greece; and these Asiatic Greeks, firmly established and widely diffused over the western shore of Asia Minor, by assiduously cultivating that commerce, for carrying on which they were so advantageously situated, at the time of the subjugation of Crœsus, had arrived at no inconsiderable height of splendor and power. In the overwhelming violence, however, with which the weight of the Persian power descended upon that region of Asia, distinction was lost, and subordinate states and interests ingulphed. Lydia became a province of the Persian empire, and the Greek republics of Ionia, dependent upon it, after a resolute but ineffectual resistance to the generals of Cyrus, commissioned to effect the complete conquest of them, finally became tribu-

tary to the Persian monarch. In the next reign, Cambyses, during his frantic Egyptian expedition, (if, in fact, it ever took place,) derived the greatest advantage from the assistance of the Greeks of Ionia and Caria, who, with singular deviation from those principles of *liberty* and *independence* on which the Greek republics were originally founded, had enlisted as auxiliaries in his own army and that of Prammetichus, his adversary, and were the means of affixing in future, on all their successors, the disgraceful title of *mercenaries*. Nor was his land-army alone recruited from the Greeks of that district; they furnished him also with a considerable navy, towards effecting the purpose of his expedition. During the early period of the reign of Hystaspes, the Ionian Greeks continued uninterruptedly to pursue the same rapid career of wealth and commerce, and rose so high in naval renown that all the islands of the Ægean-Sea either felt or trembled at their power. Instigated, at length, by some daring chiefs of their own nation, and some disaffected Persian nobles, exiled from the court, confiding on their decided superiority in naval concerns, and relying on the vigorous support of the other republics of Greece, they endeavoured to wrest the whole of that rich satrapy from the hands of the Persians. The result of this bold project, and of subsequent very spirited efforts to accomplish it, proved very different from what their sanguine expectations had predicted, and what in fact the boldness of the design merited; for, though the Athenians, enraged at some recent insults received from the court of Sardis, joined them with a considerable naval force, (the more cautious Lacedæmonians refusing to have any share in the war,) and though Sardis itself was taken by the united forces, and the greater part of that celebrated capital burnt; yet the triumph of the Grecians was but temporary, and their total overthrow, which followed almost im-

mediately, under the walls of Ephesus, served only, for the present, to bind more firmly the Persian fetters on their Greek subjects of Asia Minor. For Athens, and the other Greek confederates who assisted the revolters, a severer vengeance was meditated by the conqueror, and the accidental burning of Sardis was but a prelude to those more fatal flames by which the finest temples and loftiest edifices of Greece were consumed, and Athens itself, with other celebrated cities, levelled with the dust. Hystaspes, however, did not survive this event long enough to inflict that ultimate revenge: he lived, indeed, to witness the desolation of Eretria, one marked object of his implacable resentment, but he also lived to have the transports it occasioned effaced amid the pangs inflicted by the disgraceful defeat of his troops on the plain of Marathon; that disastrous plain on which the Persian eagles, for the first time, bowed the head in battle to the rising genius of Greece*.

Bahaman, the son of Asfendiar, and consequently the grandson of Gushstap, is mentioned in the Oriental histories as the immediate successor of the latter on the throne of Persia. His Persian surname is Dirazdest, literally translated by the Greeks Μακροχειρ, or the *Long-Handed*, in which we have a just specimen of the confused manner in which the Greeks have handed down to us, in the order of succession, the names of the Persian sovereigns. This prince ought properly to be the Xerxes of the Greeks; a name probably derived from Shirshah. Sir William Jones offers the only explanation which I have met with of this difficulty, when he says, " Our chronologists place the reign of Xerxes after Darius Hystaspes; and he might, perhaps, have outlived both Lohorasp and his successor †. He must, however, on this supposition, have flourished to a wonderful old age, and, at all events, is a very

* Herodot. lib. vi. cap 99-102. † Short Hist. of Persia, p. 50.

different character from the youthful, ardent, aspiring, Xerxes of the Greeks. From his other name of Ardeshir, often given him in Mirkhond, he is, most probably, the Artaxerxes of their history. Mirkhond, in Texeira, asserts, that his right hand and arm were actually considerably longer than his left; but the judicious author above-cited thinks that his title of *Longimanus* metaphorically alluded to his extensive power. There certainly are not, in the Oriental writers, as Mr. Richardson has observed, any accounts, similar to those of the Greeks, of the invasion of Greece by the myriads of Xerxes, or of the subsequent defeat of that monarch and the dispersion of his innumerable army and fleet. A defeat and compelled retreat of such a disgraceful kind was not likely to become the theme of any contemporary domestic historian in the despotic empire of Asia; or, if the story were ever recorded by the Persian historic muse, may it not have perished with the archives of the state, and the other treasures of Persian literature, on the invasion of the Greeks, and amidst the flames that consumed Persepolis? It is impossible to conceive that Herodotus, who flourished so near that period, and doubtless had his account from eye-witnesses of that dreadful catastrophe, could be deceived as to the leading circumstances of a fact of such public notoriety; or to coincide with Mr. Richardson in opinion, that the movements of a Persian general and the inferior army of a satrap, or several satraps, could be mistaken for the solemn march of Xerxes himself and the concentrated force of the whole Persian empire. Convinced, therefore, that, in travelling over the page of Greek history, describing this invasion, we are not wholly treading on fairy-ground, and that, under whatever name, a monarch of the genius and character of Xerxes once sat on the Persian throne, I shall proceed to connect the narrative of events before-described, as ultimately tending to the subjugation of India, by a concise recapitulation of

facts, which, though well known to every classical scholar, cannot, consistently with the object of this history and the information of the less learned, be entirely omitted.

Twice, in the preceding reign of Darius, had the small kingdom of Macedonia been compelled to pay to that monarch the accustomed, but degrading, tribute of *earth* and *water*: first, at the return of Darius from his Scythian expedition, when he appointed Megabazus commander-in-chief of the forces in the western extremity of his empire, and who obtained that mark of homage to his master from Amyntas, the reigning monarch; secondly, after the Ionian revolt and conquest, when Mardonius, the Persian satrap, led the first armament against the Greek inhabitants of the islands of the Ægean Sea. That armament, however formidable, proved inefficacious as to its objects, as well from a furious storm that dashed to pieces the greatest part of the Persian fleet, when attempting to double the Cape of Mount Athos, as from an unexpected attack made by night on his army by the Brygian Thracians, who stormed his camp, not sufficiently fortified, slew a great number of his men, and, wounding Mardonius himself, compelled him for that season to relinquish the expedition. With the ensuing spring the design was renewed: an army and fleet more powerful, commanded by generals more skilful and determined, were ordered to enforce on the Grecian republics the usual demand of *earth* and *water* from the haughty Persians; but the undaunted spirit of the insular Greeks could not brook the indignity to which the feebler government of Macedon had tamely submitted. At Athens and at Lacedæmon, when the heralds of Darius appeared publicly, to demand that proof of their submission, the general indignation was so extreme, that, at the one place, amidst the execrations of the people, they were thrown into a deep ditch, and at the other into a well, and, in the firm language of free-born men,

told there to collect the required earth and water*. A sense of the danger that now threatened all Greece put an end to the debates which had previously, for many ages, agitated those rival republics, and united them in one firm body against the common enemy. The glory, however, of Marathon's proud day was reserved solely for Miltiades and his daring Athenians, who, in number scarcely ten thousand, defeated the Persian army, consisting, according to the moderate computation of Cornelius Nepos, of one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand cavalry†. The disgrace of this defeat from so despised a power was severely felt at the court of Susa, and stung Darius to the quick, who was then preparing to march against Egypt, engaged in recent revolt. He immediately ordered fresh forces to be levied throughout the whole extent of his empire, and, resigning to able generals the conduct of the war in Egypt, resolved to march in person against this rising competitor for military glory! In the midst of these mighty preparations, he expired; leaving his successor, whom the Greeks, we have seen, called Xerxes, animated with the same resentment, and ardently bent on the same means of accomplishing the deep-laid project of revenge.

The immense army, though doubtless greatly exaggerated, led by this monarch into Greece; his cutting a passage through Mount Athos, if ever, in reality, accomplished; his celebrated double bridge of boats thrown over the Hellespont to connect the two continents of Asia and Europe; his repulse at Thermopylæ by the daring valour of Leonidas and his immortal comrades; the plunder of Delphi; and the completion of his revenge by the capture and conflagration of Athens; together with the disgraceful defeat of his fleet at Salamis, and the final ignominious retreat of

* Herodotus, lib. vi. cap. 49. † Cornelius Nepos, in Vita Miltiad.

this monarch out of Europe, have been too often the theme of admiring historians and enraptured poets to be dwelt on in these pages, with which they are only collaterally connected. These events, however, mark the beginning and gradual progress of that desperate contest for sovereignty, which could only be terminated by the utter destruction of the one or the other powers at variance. It exceeds belief that the innumerable army and fleet of Xerxes, the collected force of exhausted Asia, could be intended to act solely against the petty sovereignties of Greece, for the utter extermination of which a fourth part might have been well deemed amply sufficient. Herodotus is of opinion that a more extensive project of conquest in the western regions of the world was in the contemplation of Xerxes; and thus, perhaps, the resolute resistance of Leonidas and his brave three hundred Spartans at Thermopylæ might have proved the means of saving Italy and farthest Europe from ravage and desolation. It is deserving of notice, that whensoever the overbearing power of their Asiatic foes more severely pressed upon the Greeks, the connecting ties between the confederated republics became more firm and binding; but, when that danger was removed, the leading states were agitated with incessant feuds, and particularly the great cities of Athens and Lacedæmon, who were involved in everlasting contests for superiority of dominion; and, while they themselves spurned the oppressive yoke of Persia, in the true democratic spirit, were continually labouring to fix their own yoke on the neck of their weaker neighbours. Without this powerful incentive to union, perhaps the Grecian states would have continued for ever in their original insignificance and imbecility, the result of that distraction; and thus, in some measure, Persia may be said to have created the very power that afterwards annihilated herself.

It is impossible for any circumstance more strongly to evince

the jealous dread, which the court of Susa at this time entertained of the rising power and ambitious views of Athens, than the conduct of Xerxes, in renewing, with that power, after so public and disastrous a defeat, in the ensuing spring, those hostilities, which the re-assembling of his dispersed forces, still numerous and formidable, enabled him to carry on with energy. Grown wise, however, from sad experience, Xerxes advanced not in person beyond the walls of Sardis. Mardonius was once more appointed commander-in-chief; but, before he struck the important blow which was intended to annihilate Greece, he was directed to hold out the olive-branch of peace to the Athenians at least, at that time the inspiring soul of the vast confederated body. Little as Xerxes could reasonably flatter himself that the Athenians would be duped by so shallow an artifice, intended, under the mask of friendship, to detach them from their allies and weaken the confederacy, the attempt was resolved upon; and, by the singular caprice of fortune, it was decided that an Alexander, then king of Macedonia, should be the herald of the auspicious tidings; an Alexander should plead the cause of an Asiatic despot; an Alexander propose to rivet the chain of Persia on the prostrate neck of Athens. The embassy was received at Athens with merited contempt, and the remembrance alone of the alliance and friendship that had subsisted, for many generations, between the two kingdoms of Athens and Macedon, preserved the royal messenger from obloquy and insult. Alexander, however, we shall find, not long afterwards effaced the guilt of this liberticidal conduct by an undertaking essential to the salvation of Greece; an undertaking fraught with uncommon hazard, and executed with the most undaunted courage.

The proffered friendship of Persia, and her proposals of ample indemnification for expences incurred and damages suffered during

the war, being thus disdainfully rejected by the Athenians, Mardonius immediately commenced his march for Attica. From the distraction and jealousies, which, owing to the miserably defective, though imposing, political system of Greece, still unhappily prevailed through the several republics of the Peloponnesus, Attica was by no means provided with a land-force adequate to oppose them, though their fleet rode triumphant in the surrounding seas. By rapid advances, Mardonius soon reached that capital, which, on his approach, was again deserted by the inhabitants, who took refuge in Salamis, where they could be protected by the fleet till a sense of shame or of honour should rouse their tardy allies to hasten to their relief, and fulfil the stipulations by which they were bound to act with vigour against the common foe. The politic Mardonius took advantage of their deserted situation, and again made proposals of acccommodation, which were again indignantly rejected. In consequence of this obstinate refusal to break their solemn engagements, and listen to any terms whatever with the Persians, the enraged Mardonius, who had hitherto spared Attica and its new-rising capital, commanded a general plunder of the country, and once more devoted to destruction that ill-fated city. At length the Spartans, sacrificing mistrust and jealousy to a sense of the common danger that impended over Greece, sent off Pausanias, with a body of forty thousand men, including Helots, to their aid; and these, in their march, being reinforced by other Greek confederates, and finally forming a junction with the Athenian forces at Eleusis, proceeded to offer immediate battle to the enemy. Mardonius, after ravaging Attica, had retired from that country, and drawn up his numerous forces on the wide champaign of Bœotia, so favourable to the operations of cavalry, ever the glory and principal dependence of the Persian army. The celebrated and decisive battle of PLATÆA was the consequence, in which

Mardonius was slain, and the Persian camp stormed and plundered of inestimable booty. This dreadful overthrow, being followed, on the evening of the very same day, by the spirited attack made by the Grecian naval force on the Persian entrenched camp and fleet near the promontory of Mycale, on the coast of Ionia, whose inhabitants, long grown impatient under the Persian despotism, had broke out into general revolt, an attack in which the whole navy of Persia was burnt, put an end to all future invasions of Greece by the Persians, who never afterwards dared to appear on this side the Hellespont. Xerxes, in every instance baffled and defeated, returned precipitately to Susa, impressed with humbler notions of the invincible power of the GREAT KING than he left it; and found how little avail, in the field, are myriad bands of slaves, who fight for hire, when opposed to free-born men, who combat for virtue and independance. In the hurry of his departure, however, he forgot not to make a grand sacrifice at the shrine of the national religion; for, he issued positive orders for all the temples throughout the Greek settlements in Asia that yet remained in subjection to him, to be burned and levelled, which was rigidly performed in every instance except that of the magnificent fane of Diana of Ephesus *. The reader will now no longer remain in doubt as to the real cause of the total silence or suppression of the Persian annals concerning this reign and its disastrous events: those events, however, are faithfully recorded by an historian whose fame bids fair to be eternal, and on the elegant medals and sculptured monuments of Greece, which, preserved with pious care in the cabinets of taste and science, probably will only perish with the wreck of nature. The rapid and disgraceful retreat of Xerxes from his western frontier only served to inflame the courage and persevering

* Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 99-100, ubi supra.

ardour of the Athenians, and to wrest from his control the remainder of the Greek cities and islands subject to his authority in Asia Minor and Europe. With the united exertion of the confederated fleets, under the command of Cymon, the son of the great Miltiades, a soldier equally daring and discreet, in a series of brilliant successes on both the Grecian and Phœnician coasts, this was effectually performed; and a large addition both of domain and of revenue was thus obtained to Athens, the head of that confederacy. Their posterity, unfortunately, as the page of Athenian history shews, did not bear the gale of prosperity with the same noble equanimity with which their fathers had braved the rude storm of adversity. They soon grew haughty to their Greek allies and tyrannical to the conquered countries: hence sprang that eternal jealousy, between them and their Spartan rivals, which kindled the dreadful Peloponnesian war, and fully revenged Persia by deluging the cities of Greece with the blood of her most illustrious progeny *.

To return to Bahaman, or Ardeshir, in whose reign, doubtless, that of the former monarch has been swallowed up, he is represented by Mirkhond as a prince remarkable for strict justice and his zealous attachment to the Magian religion, as the reformer of many abuses, and the repairer of many noble structures ruined by the lapse of time or the violence of war. He was also remarkable for his unbounded hospitality, constantly affirming that no door ought to be shut in the palace of a prince†. He is said, by his generals, to have made conquests in Syria and Palestine; but not a word occurs in Mirkhond concerning Greece; except a remark confirming the accounts of our western chronologers, that Hippocrates and Democritus, philosophers of that country, flourished in this reign, and that their works, with those of Plato and Socrates,

* Plutarch in Vita Aristid. † Mirkhond, p. 73.

are well known to the learned of the Persian nation. He is said to have killed by stratagem the formidable Rostam, who had rebelled and made himself independent in the provinces of Sejestan and Cabul: but this, we have observed, must be a mistake, or Rostam, in that case, must have lived to four hundred years of age. A descendant only of the mighty chief of that name can be alluded to by the Persian annalist *.

From Xerxes (or, rather, the last-mentioned Ardeshir) to the reign of Darius, the younger, under whom the fatal Macedonian invasion took place, according to the Persian annals, only two sovereigns swayed the Persian sceptre. These were Homai and her son Darab, and neither of these are recorded to have had any particular intercourse, either in the way of friendship or hostility, with India, which probably continued, during this long interval, to remain undisturbed and in its ancient state of tributary subjection. For the sake of connecting, however, the Persian, Greek, and Indian, history of this important period, and on the presumption that the Greek historians are worthy of credit in their narration of facts, which either the policy of the Persian historians may have concealed, or of which, if recorded, every vestige was swept away during the long troubles that convulsed Persia to its centre,—urged, I say, by these motives, I shall regulate this part of the history by the accounts that have descended to us from classical writers concerning the order of succession of the Persian sovereigns, and take a rapid review of the principal events that continued to increase the rooted hatred of the two former nations till that dreadful catastrophe took place.

The advantageous terms which the valour of Cymon, the Athenian general, had extorted from Artaxerxes at the conclusion of the

* Ibid. p. 74, and Sir William Jones's Short Hist. of Persia, p. 52.

former war, amounting to an absolute renunciation on the side of that monarch of every claim on any part of the Grecian territory, had secured permanent tranquillity to Greece from that once-dreaded quarter*. But the unceasing jealousy and contest for power which agitated those turbulent republics, and particularly the two leading states, unfortunately gave birth, as was before observed, to the Peloponnesian war, in which the strength of the contending parties becoming at length nearly exhausted, each of those states, with a policy as narrow as the meanness was despicable, made urgent applications to Persia for warlike assistance against the other. It does not appear, however, that the Persians were at all anxious to renew their connection with a people from whom they had already suffered so severely. That war was considerably advanced before any attention was shewn to the application; it was almost finished before any effectual assistance was sent; and then it was sent, not to Athens, the ancient determined foe of Persia, but to Sparta, her ambitious rival. In the mean time Ardeshir, or the first Artaxerxes, dying, Darab, or Darius Nothos, that is, *the Bastard*, succeeded to the vacant throne. This was the son of the Queen Homai, a word in Persian signifying *the bird of Paradise*, who is said by the Persian writers to have reigned during his minority, which he is said to have passed in exile from her and her court, having been exposed, as soon as born, in consequence of the predictions of the seers, who calculated his nativity, that he should bring an infinity of evils on his country. "The Eastern writers tell us," says Sir William Jones, "that he was exposed by his mother, like the Hebrew law-giver, on a river, which, by its rapid current, carried him to the habitation of a dyer, who knew him to be a child of high birth by the trinkets which adorned his cradle; that he was

* Thucydides, lib. i. p. 96. Plutarch in Vita Cymou.

educated by this honest man, who sent him to the wars, where he distinguished himself in fighting against the Greeks; that, being introduced to the queen as a brave youth, she knew him again by the jewels which he wore, and which his reputed father had restored to him *." Sir William brands this story as an Eastern romance, the predictions being supposed to have reference to the invasion of Alexander, which, in fact, took place under a later Darius. The astrologers who made them might possibly have meant by them to excuse the rashness and impolicy of Darius, by imputing the disasters of his reign to the stern inevitable decrees of destiny. I have transcribed it on purpose that the reader may again observe, in this Legend, the usual magnified difficulties which the Asiatic writers are habitually addicted to represent as surmounted, in their infancy and youth, by great personages celebrated in Eastern annals. The whole seems nothing more than a repetition of those undergone by Creeshna and the great Cyrus. The new prince, named Darab, or Dara in Persian, began his reign with an appearance of vigour and prompt decision that marked the ancient kings of Persia, not without a considerable portion of brilliant success in the field against the revolted provinces of Media, Arabia, and Egypt, whose inhabitants seemed inclined to take advantage of the debilitated state of the empire and the inexperience of the monarch, entirely to shake off their dependance on Persia †. In either circumstance they were deceived, nor did the principals of the Grecian commonwealth less effectually impose upon themselves, when they conceived that a power which had recently experienced such a humiliating reverse of fortune, from their joint exertions, would heartily join with either to effect the complete reduction of the other. The experience of half a century had taught the court of

* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 53. † Thucydides, lib. ii. cap. 15.—Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. p. 160.

A.

Susa that the Grecian states were then only not formidable to Persia when she was distracted with internal dissensions, and to keep their passions in ferment, and their respective interests and powers so properly balanced against each other, that neither side, if it were possible, should materially preponderate, would be the line of sound policy for her invariably to pursue. Such appear to have been the constant maxims that swayed the two predecessors of Darius Nothos, and such was the wise conduct of the satraps of Sardis, till the unfortunate period when the younger Cyrus, in the inexperienced ardour of early youth, was invested with the command of that important province, with positive orders, which his impetuous disposition scarcely needed, by calling forth all the resources of that rich satrapy to destroy that equipoise, and secure to Lacedæmon a decided superiority over Athens. The result was, what might easily have been foreseen. The orders, if ever in reality given, (for, doubts may very reasonably be entertained,) were a disgrace to the policy of the hitherto cautious court of Susa. The Peloponnesian war, stained as it was with the blackest perfidies and the most barbarous massacres on either side, through the influence of Persian gold, ended in the complete subjugation of Athens. But this important event, while it crushed the ancient and sworn foe of Persia, exalted its antagonist to that height of glory and power, which in the end would have undoubtedly proved fatal to their protectors, had they not resorted to the very same means as before for dividing, and consequently weakening, the authority which they dreaded; and had they not squandered the treasures of Sardis in the profusest bribery, and conquered Agesilaus, as he himself confessed, with an army not of thirty thousand *men*, but of thirty thousand *darics*.

However deficient we may be in authentic Persian records to guide us through the train of events that distinguish the present

period of their empire, it is fortunate for the credit of history that we have the advantage of referring, as we proceed, for the truth of the extraordinary facts related in it, to two Greek writers of the highest honour and veracity, who were successively eye-witnesses of the facts which their pens describe, and on whose relation we can rest with the fullest confidence,—Thucydides and Xenophon. The former was as distinguished for his abilities as a profound politician and statesman, as for his elegance and authenticity as an historian: the latter attended the younger Cyrus in that memorable, but fruitless expedition to the plains of Babylon, which his pen so elegantly relates, and which, as still farther inflaming the hatred of the two nations, it is necessary for us cursorily to notice. The despotic cruelty with which that haughty young prince acted in his satrapy of Sardis, added to his assumption of honours scarcely less than imperial, occasioned his recall to the court of his incensed father, where, however, the unbounded influence of Parysatis, his mother, over Darius, procured not only his pardon, but a bequest in perpetuity of the government which he had relinquished. During his stay at Susa, Darius Nothos died, and was succeeded by the second Ardeshir, the elder brother of Cyrus, called by the Greeks, from his uncommon strength of memory, Artaxerxes *Mnemon*. The violent temper and ambition of the prince urging him to make an attempt at once on the life and throne of the new monarch; on the fortunate discovery of the conspiracy almost at the moment when it was to have been executed, Cyrus was seized and condemned to death for the intended fratricide; but here again parental affection interfered in his behalf, and he was not only pardoned, but, with glaring impolicy, sent to take possession of the government bequeathed him by his deceased father. The soul of Cyrus, instead of overflowing with gratitude to so benevolent a king and brother, was inflamed with revenge at the design of taking away his justly-

forfeited life; and, immediately on his arrival at Sardis, his rage broke forth in a secret and cautious, but most malignant and determined, project to usurp the throne, and sacrifice to his vengeance a too lenient brother.

The preparations made by Cyrus, both by sea and land, for this important undertaking, according to the accurate and elegant account of the historian Xenophon, who beheld them, were of an extent and magnitude adequate to the bold design. The whole of the maritime provinces of his satrapy were compelled to furnish an ample supply of ships and men, which were put under the direction of Tamos, an Egyptian well skilled in naval affairs; while a powerful additional fleet, under Pythagoras, sailed from Sparta to join the naval force collected on the coasts of Asia. This fleet was intended to awe the coast of Cilicia and other maritime provinces, through which their progress lay, and cause a diversion of the forces which might be sent to oppose their march by land. By land, an army of a hundred thousand of the choicest regular troops, fit for such an arduous enterprize, were assembled, and the command of them given to Persian officers, in whose courage and attachment Cyrus knew he could confide: but, what was, at that time, of far more consequence in a land-engagement, a band of determined Greeks, to the amount of thirteen thousand, were assembled from all the states in alliance with Lacedæmon, and marched, in a firm phalanx, under the command of Clearchus, a general equally renowned for policy and valour. Tidings of these formidable preparations soon reached the court of Susa; but the artful satrap contrived to quiet the apprehensions to which they naturally gave rise by solemn assurance that they were intended partly to reduce Thrace, and partly to repel the aggressions of Tissaphernes, a neighbouring satrap at enmity with Cyrus, and against whom he insidiously preferred the loudest complaints of treachery and rebellion.

As it was, at that period of its debilitated authority, the wretched policy of the Persian court to encourage perpetual disputes between the governors of the distant provinces, with a view to incapacitate them for engaging in projects of higher ambition, for some time Artaxerxes continued without alarm, though not without suspicion, at the reports of the increasing numbers that daily flocked to the standard of his perfidious brother. At length Tissaphernes, convinced of the real designs of his rival, set off with all speed from Miletus to the imperial residence, and gave such indubitable proofs both of his own innocence and of the treason of Cyrus, as induced Darius immediately to take the field with a great army, that he might be prepared to meet the danger that threatened his throne and life. Having drawn out his forces on the spacious plains of Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon, where the Persian cavalry, still formidable in battle, could act with most effect, he there fixed his camp, and waited with dignified composure the awful day that was to establish, or annihilate, his just claim to the throne of Persia against the intrigues and usurpation of his turbulent and aspiring brother.

Cyrus, in the mean time, was advancing to the Babylonian territory, by long and rapid marches, at the head of an army of which Clearchus and the principal Persian leaders alone knew the real destination. The incessant fatigues they endured, the mysterious silence observed in regard to the enemy with whom they were to contend, want of regular and sufficient pay, owing to the exhausted treasury of Cyrus, together with numerous other irritating causes, required the exertion of the most consummate policy joined to the most undaunted firmness, in the general, to keep so vast and various an assemblage of men from mutiny; and especially the Greeks, who were several times on the point of disbanding. When, at length, after having passed the great Tauric range, they had ad-

vanced so far as to make retreat scarcely practicable, and when the plunder of some of the wealthiest cities of Cilicia, and other rich satrapies in their way, had enabled him to discharge existing arrears, and promise a considerable increase of pay in future, the real object of the expedition was announced to the army, and the immense spoil held out to them as their certain reward, added to the glory to be acquired by success in so hazardous an expedition, not only reconciled the Greeks to the project, but animated them to push forward with ardour to its accomplishment. The native legions were at all times too much in the habit of paying implicit obedience to the despotic injunctions of their chieftains to make the least demur or offer the smallest opposition to the orders for marching to dethrone their prince. The various particulars of this long and toilsome march, the battle of the contending armies on the plain of Cunaxa in Assyria, the consequent death of Cyrus himself, hurried on by his impetuous spirit to brave inevitable destruction by rushing on Artaxerxes in the midst of his body-guard, and still more deserving of notice, the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, under the conduct of the brave and judicious general, who so elegantly and circumstantially relates it, are to be found in the interesting details of the Grecian history of this period. They are solely mentioned here for the purpose of distinctly marking the causes and progress of that fatal rupture, that long-continued enmity, between the two countries, which finally terminated in the downfal of the Persian monarchy.

CHAPTER III.

The PERSIAN *and* GREEK *History of this Period continued.—The Effect which the celebrated Retreat of the* TEN THOUSAND, *under Xenophon, had on the future Conduct of Greece towards Persia.*—AGESILAUS.—*The Peace of* ANTALCIDAS.—*Persia increases the Number of foreign Mercenaries in her Army, and, by dividing, governs Greece.—Rapid Rise and Decline of* THEBES.—PHILIP, *King of Macedon, gains a decided Ascendancy over the rest of Greece.—Partly by Bribery, and partly by open Force, subdues them.—He is chosen Generalissimo of the confederated Greeks against Persia.—Philip assassinated by Pausanias.*—ESCANDER, *or* ALEXANDER, *succeeds to his Throne, and exalted Station in the Army of Greece.—Persian Accounts of* ESCANDER, *and of his Motives for invading Persia.—Alexander crosses the Hellespont.—Visits Ilium.—Battle of the* GRANICUS.—*He subdues Asia Minor.—Battle of* ISSUS.—*Alexander conquers Syria, and exterminates the Tyrians.—Marches into Egypt.—Builds Alexandria.—Visits the Temple of Jupiter Hammon.—Returns to Asia, and renews the War.—The Battle of* ARBELA.—*Death of* DARIUS, *and Extinction of the* CAIANIAN *Dynasty.*

THE decided superiority which the disciplined valour of a small Greek army gave them over the enervated myriads of Persia, was so effectually demonstrated by the important enterprise alluded to in the preceding chapter, that the Lacedæmonian government, now committed in open hostility with that of Susa, reinforced the remainder of that invincible band, which had thus retreated under Xenophon, with fresh troops, commanded by Agesilaus, a man

equally eminent in the field of politics and of war, with positive orders not only to emancipate the Asiatic Greeks wholly from the Persian yoke, but to carry on a vigorous and active war against the satrap who governed the districts in which they lay. These orders were immediately and successfully put in execution, in the first instance, against Tissaphernes, satrap of Sardis, who was defeated in a regular battle, and the plunder of his rich government afforded ample means of enlarging the sphere of operation, and subjecting that of Bithynia, and others still more remote from Greece*. While Agesilaus was pursuing this victorious career, and on the point of carrying the war into the very heart of Persia, a storm, more fearful than ever had yet hovered over any city of Greece, was about to burst upon Lacedæmon. The ill use she had made of the conquest of her once-haughty rival, and her almost boundless control over the other dependant states, had operated, in conjunction with a plentiful diffusion of Persian gold, to arm against her, in one general confederacy, all the inferior republics of Greece, which, with Athens at their head, were preparing to take a severe revenge for the injuries inflicted by her tyranny. The intrepid spirit and deep political wisdom of Agesilaus were now become necessary to the very existence of his country, and he was recalled from the ardent pursuit of foreign glory to the domestic defence of all that was dear to him as a *king* and a *man*. But his return and exertion, though vigorous, were of little avail: it was now the turn of Athens once more to triumph. The Lacedæmonian fleet being completely beaten at sea, by the confederated Persian and Athenian navy, under the able conduct of Conon, left Laconia open to the ravages of the enemy; and afforded opportunity to that patriot admiral to rebuild the long walls, which had formed the glory

* Xenophon Hellen. lib. iii. cap. 4, sect. 25, et Plutarch in Agesilao.

and defence of Athens, but had been demolished through the jealousy of her rival in the Peloponnesian war. In the end, the constant and deep-laid policy of Persia, in regard to Greece, prevailed, and both powers, impoverished and exhausted by incessant conflicts, in which fortune alternately favoured the contending powers, were at length obliged to submit to a peace dictated by Persia; that disgraceful peace which bears the name of Antalcidas, the projector of it, which, however necessary to Greece in her present debilitated state, and even sanctioned by the assent of Agesilaus himself, certainly rendered abortive all that commander's noble and repeated efforts to liberate the Asiatic Greeks, and threw them again at the feet of their former tyrants*.

During the remainder of the long reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, by a continued adherence to the same line of insidious policy in regard to Greece, that is, by following the old maxim of *dividing* and *governing*, alternately dispensing bribes and holding out menaces, the great leading states were kept pretty equally balanced against each other; at least no such formidable confederacy against the Persian power, as had more than once spread terror even through the distant court of Susa, again appeared to interrupt its repose. Henceforward, too, a considerable band of Greek mercenaries constantly ranged under the banners of that empire, and were consisidered as the flower of its army. No less than twenty thousand under the command of Iphicrates, an Athenian general, attended this monarch shortly after his expedition into Egypt; and, though that expedition proved unfortunate, the miscarriage was by no means to be laid to their charge, but to the obstinate infatuation of Pharnabazus, the Persian commander. In fact, they seem ever to have well deserved their pay, and fought with fidelity and zeal, a

* Xenophon, lib. iv. p. 551, et Plutarch in Agesilao.

remarkable instance of which occurred at the battle of Issus between Darius and Alexander; for, when the Persian legions had given way in every quarter, the Greek mercenaries alone stood their ground, even against the attacks of their invading countrymen; and, by their determined bravery, were nearly rescuing the Persian empire from that gulph of destruction on which it then verged. It must be owned, however, that this perpetual recruiting of the Persian army with Greek mercenaries, and this constant dependance upon them, in all important engagements, were the extreme of impolicy, and gradually paved the way to the Grecian irruption in the reign of their last ill-fated monarch. The mercenaries retained, indeed, performed with fidelity their task; but those, that were discharged at the expiration of the period for which they had enlisted, returned to their native country, impressed with a perfect knowledge of the vices and luxury, and a rooted contempt for the imbecility, of the Persian government. They diffused these sentiments widely through the Grecian states, and thus kept alive the favourite idea, secretly, but warmly, cherished among them, of repaying some time or other the visit of Xerxes, intended to crush them collectively. The Persians on the other hand, while they saw and admired the steady bravery and exact discipline of the Grecian legions, neglected to improve their own by the brilliant example; but, on the contrary, knowing that their overflowing treasures could always procure them foreign soldiers, suffered the vigour of their native troops to languish in inaction.

On the decease of Artaxerxes Mnemon, according to the Greeks, his youngest son, Ochus, ascended the throne through a torrent of kindred blood. This Ochus, as has been before observed, is unknown in the Persian records; for, he is not even mentioned by Mirkhond; and Sir William Jones, in this period of his concise Memoir, has the following observation:—"There seems, in this

place, to be a chasm of many years in the annals of the Persians, for they say nothing of Ardeshir, son of Dara, by Parizadeh, or Parysatis, whose brother Cyrus led the Greeks to Babylon; nor of the third Ardeshir, whom our historians call Ochus; nor of Arogus, whose true name it has not been in my power to discover. Now, if we suppose, as we reasonably may, that these three kings reigned about twenty-one years each, we shall bring the reign of Dara the younger to the year 337 before Christ, which will agree tolerably well with the chronologers both of Asia and Europe*." Of a monarch terrible in vengeance, and treacherous in friendship, like Ochus, neither Lacedæmon nor Athens courted the alliance, or dared in their weakened state to rouse the resentment; especially as he was a formidable warrior, and, in the beginning of his reign, reduced both Egypt and Phœnicia, which had revolted, once more beneath the Persian yoke. His sanguinary reign was at length terminated by a death as violent, and torments as painful, as any he had inflicted on the numerous victims of his undistinguishing fury†.

The Egyptian slave Bagoas, who, in pious revenge for his murder of the god Apis, had compelled Ochus to drink the poisoned bowl, immediately raised to the vacant throne Arses, the youngest son of the deceased emperor; but this new pageant of royalty, being either not sufficiently callous in iniquity, or not compliant enough with his patron's designs, was speedily assassinated. Darius Codomannus, a direct descendant of Darius Nothos, was then exalted by this tyrannical arbiter of the fate of kings, to the imperial honours. The character of Darius is very differently drawn by the Persian and Greek historians; the former representing him as a severe, cruel, and implacable, despot; the latter as a prince, mild, magnanimous, and amiable‡. It is possible that character might have

* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 54. † Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. sect. 5. ‡ Short Hist. of Persia, p. 56.

varied with his situation, and that misfortune awakened the virtues to which prosperity is unfavourable. He is allowed, however, by both parties to have been a prince of great personal bravery and accomplishments, and it was to a happy exertion of fortitude that he retained, even the few years he reigned, the possession of the Persian throne; for, according to Diodorus, when the perfidious regicide, fearing his independent spirit, resolved to dispatch him as he had done Arses, and caused the fatal, but disguised, potion, that was to mingle him with his predecessors, to be administered to his sovereign, Darius, apprized of his villany, ordered the traitor to be brought into his presence, and there compelled him to drink the poison which he had prepared for himself*.

During these revolutions at Susa, the states of Greece were again convulsed with violent internal dissensions, where a new competitor for the sovereign power had started up in Thebes, the hitherto-despised capital of Bæotia. With the continued and obstinate contests, however, that immediately followed between the Lacedæmonian and Athenian states, or rather the greater part of confederated Greece with that aspiring republic, rapid in its exaltation, and not less rapid in its decline, the History of India could have no possible concern, had not Philip, the father of its destined conqueror been brought up under Epaminondas, its invincible general, and instructed by him in the principles and practice of that military science, which he afterwards so effectually and fatally employed, in conjunction with the blackest perfidy, the deepest dissimulation, the profusest bribery, by means of the gold mines at Philippi, and in defiance of the fulminating eloquence of Demosthenes, to subvert the liberties of all Greece. When that event was effected by a series of events, the consideration of which is foreign to our subject,

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. sect. 6.

the Macedonian monarch, whose ambition disdained the limits set to his conquests by the surrounding ocean, panted to display his genius on that nobler theatre, the continent of Asia. Flattered by the easy subjugation of one empire, he already, in the comprehensive grasp of his aspiring mind, meditated the destruction of another; and no object less magnificent than the sceptre of Persia, weakened as that monarchy was by its vast extent, and undermined by the general corruption of both governors and governed, seemed worthy of his boundless ambition.

Greece, in a divided state, impressed Persia with no terror; united, she was dreadful and irresistible. Her present union, indeed, under Philip, was the result of constraint; and, though the means used by that politic prince to effect the general submission to his will through all its limits, which followed the decisive battle of Chæronea, ought ever to be spoken of in the strong reprobative language of Demosthenes, yet it cannot be denied that some powerful commanding influence was necessary to cement the varying interests; and that, without it, the national energy could never have been fully concentrated, nor effectually directed to one focal point. The ancient ardour to revenge the invasion of Xerxes still glowed in every Grecian bosom, inflamed by the accumulated injuries and oppressions experienced during nearly three centuries from the imperious satraps that presided on her western frontier. Philip himself, in addition to the general incentive of glory and aggrandizement, pretended also private motives of revenge for the assistance recently and avowedly given by the king of Persia to the besieged cities of Perinthus and Byzantium*. By means of his acquired authority, having convened a general assembly of the Amphictyons, he there procured himself to be declared generalissimo

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi, cap. 77.

of the Grecian forces to act against Persia. Having in this capacity settled with the Amphyctionic body the quota of troops and money to be furnished by the respective states of Greece for that important expedition, he dismissed the assembly, and, retiring to Macedon, devoted his whole time and attention to insure success to the daring project; but, while Philip was thus eagerly engaged in planning the downfal of the Persian monarch, he himself fell a victim to the private revenge of an insulted courtier, to whom he had neglected to render the essential justice which atrocious guilt demanded*. The honour of subjugating Persia was therefore reserved for a son, who, with his father's genius and ambition, possessed a mind superior to the baseness of fraud; a son, who, with all the numerous faults which disgraced him, disdained to conquer by *bribes* where the *sword* could prove ineffectual.

During the extended period in which the Macedonian kingdom was holden in tributary chains by the Persian monarchs, there had not been wanting one or two striking proofs how ill the sovereigns of the former brooked the insolence of the latter; and, though compelled to submit to their control, how sincerely attached they were, at heart, to the great cause of Greece and liberty. The first, a very violent one indeed, was given in the reign of Amyntas, the ninth sovereign of Macedonia, and given too by an ALEXANDER, a name fatal to Persia from the beginning! When, in the reign of the first Darius, the Persian general, Mardonius, was on his return from the conquest of Thrace, he dispatched seven noblemen, officers of high rank in his army, to demand from Amyntas the usual tribute of *earth* and *water*, as an acknowledgement of the

* The disgusting story of the abused Pausanias is told at length in the 16th book of Diodorus; but, though this unredressed grievance was the alleged cause of the murder of Philip, it probably was not the real one, which may, with more justice, be referred to the secret machinations of the jealous court of Persia, which had its emissaries in every city of Greece.

submission of the people whom he governed to the great king. The ambassadors were respectfully received, and magnificently entertained: the required tribute also, with whatever reluctance, was granted. At a banquet purposely provided for his Persian guests, Amyntas was requested, in the hour of high festivity, to introduce the women of the palace; a custom consistent enough with the luxury of Persian manners, but by no means compatible with the strictness of those of Macedonia. Amyntas, however, fearful of giving offence to the formidable power whom they represented, indulged them in their desire, and the ladies were commanded to join the company. Their exquisite beauty, added to the sparkling wine, so far inflamed his Persian guests, that they immediately proceeded to violate hospitality by the most indecorous treatment of the princesses. This being observed, with rage and indignation, by the young Alexander, his son, he contrived some excuse for the women to withdraw, and, in the mean time, caused an equal number of handsome youths to be dressed in women's apparel, and armed with concealed poniards. When the intoxicated Persians demanded the return of the illustrious females, these youths were admitted, who, the instant they began to repeat their indecent freedoms, fell upon them with their poinards, and laid them prostrate at their feet. By an exertion of consummate policy on the part of Alexander, the affair was hushed, and the kingdom saved from that inevitable destruction which must have attended the discovery*. It was this very Alexander, indeed, who afterwards became the herald of the message sent by Mardonius, after the disgraceful flight of Xerxes, alluded to in the preceding chapter, and insidiously intended to separate Athens from the general confederacy of which she was not only the head, but the inspiring

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 20.

soul. This message, it is fair to conclude, was undertaken by compulsion; but he shortly after assumed a conduct more consonant to his name and the true interests of his kingdom, in which we find a second proof of the radical antipathy of the Macedonians to their Asiatic masters. In the dead of the night, immediately previous to the battle of Platæa, so fatal to Mardonius and his army, Alexander, at that time following the Persians as a compelled ally, mounted his horse, and, riding to that part of the Grecian camp which the Athenians occupied, unfolded to Aristides, their general, the plan of attack intended to be made the next day by Mardonius on the Grecian lines; he mentioned this attack as the result of necessity from the exhausted state of the magazines, no longer adequate to the supply of so vast an army; if that attack should be prevented by any unforeseen circumstance, he encouraged them not to retire from their present advantageous position: he added, that his affinity and friendship to the Greek nation led him thus to hazard his life and kingdom in their cause; and he confided in their gratitude, should they prove victorious, to attempt the emancipation of Macedonia from the tyranny which they themselves had so magnanimously disdained, and hitherto so successfully resisted*. These instances, and many others that might be adduced, of the impatience with which the Macedonians bore the yoke of Persia, seemed to me no improper introduction to the particular detail of events in the subsequent pages, which display their struggles for the dominion of Asia; and indeed of the world itself, which then acknowledged Asia for its master.

Before we enter on the Greek accounts of Alexander's Persian and Indian conquests, it is necessary, since our historic march is properly on Oriental ground, that we cursorily notice from Mirkhond,

* Herodotus, lib. ix. cap. 45, and Plutarch in Vita Aristid.

the Persian historian, such relations as have been preserved for posterity in his page, professedly taken from the ancient archives of the nation concerning the great Escander, as they denominated him. Romantic as they are, they cannot, with propriety, be omitted. It has been already observed, that the three monarchs, whom the Greeks represent as having reigned in the interval between Darius Nothos and Codomannus, are not to be met with in the Persian annals. Their acts are referred to Ardeshir, Homai, and the first Darius; and indeed with no greater inconsistency than making the reigns of those princes disproportionably long. Codomannus is called by Mirkhond, Darab, *the son of Darab*; and, with a view, it is presumed, to preserve the lineal succession in the royal family of Persia unbroken, Escander himself is made out to have been the son of Darab, by a daughter of Philip, or *Filikous* as they term him. With this prince, Darius is represented to have waged, in person, a successful war, to have compelled him to pay a large annual tribute, and afterwards, by way of cementing more closely the ties of national union, to have demanded of him his daughter, accounted one of the most beautiful women of her age, but whom, shortly after marriage, he returned, when pregnant, to the court of Macedon, on the plea, that, with all her beauty, her breath was too disgustingly offensive to permit her longer to share his bed. On this absurd story, it may be remarked, in the first place, that we read in the Greek historians, of no particular act of hostility that passed between any Persian sovereign and Philip, besides the former throwing succours into the besieged cities of Perinthus and Byzantium; secondly, that it is highly improbable that the GREAT KING would condescend to espouse the daughter of the petty subjugated sovereign of Macedon; and, thirdly, if he *had* espoused her, that he would insultingly have sent her back on any such frivolous pretence. Besides, had this been the case, would the politic Alexander, ambitious

of the Persian throne, have neglected, by public manifestos, to urge his hereditary claim; or would he have paid that affectionate regard, which, to his honour as a son, he ever *did pay* to Olympias, not only when first disgracefully repudiated by his father, on account of imputed infidelity, but through life.

Extravagant as they are, such are the Asiatic statements; and, in fact, according to them, it was the determination of Escander to assert his maternal right to the Persian throne, added to the invitation of the nobles of Persia disgusted at the *vices* and *cruelty* of Darius the Second, which induced him to invade that empire.

Whatever improbability there may be in the accounts given by Oriental writers concerning the immediate descent of Alexander, there is no reason wholly to discredit their relations concerning an actual and violent war carried on for some time between the two monarchs, Darius Ochus and Philip, or *Filikous*, as they denominate the latter, on account of his refusal to pay the accustomed tribute. That it terminated adversely to Philip, perpetually engaged as he was in attempts to subjugate the Grecian states, is also not incredible; but that he was compelled to purchase peace of the Persian sovereign, by consenting to pay an increased annual tribute of *forty thousand pieces of gold**, as recorded by Mirkhond and the historians cited in D'Herbelot, is an assertion that partakes far more of the air of Eastern fable than of sober historic truth†. It is not, however, so much the magnitude of the sum as the degradation of Philip's martial character, by so servile a compromise, that renders this account improbable; for, Diodorus acquaints us, that he received yearly, from the mines of Philippi, a thousand talents of gold‡, which amount to nearly three millions sterling, and could

* Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 79. † D'Herbelot, under the article Escander, ubi supra.
‡ Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. p. 260.

easily have been spared from the treasures devoted to corrupt the venal republics of Greece. Such, however, are the Persian traditional histories, and the quarrel and consequent irruption of Alexander is by them referred to the following cause:—The stipulated tribute having been again withholden, an ambassador was dispatched to the court of Macedon to demand it of the young monarch, who returned this metaphorical answer; that *the bird, which had been accustomed to lay those golden eggs,* (the original term signifying both an *egg* and a *piece of money,*) *had taken its flight into the other world.* This message violently enraged Darius, who sent back the ambassador with a second message, equally irritating and insulting, accompanied with a present expressive of his marked contempt for the person and power of the juvenile possessor of the Macedonian throne. Before the Persian herald could arrive, Alexander had taken the field at the head of an army, worthy of their general; an army more brave than numerous, inflexibly determined, at all hazards, to humble the overgrown power of Persia, and consisting of the flower of the warlike progeny of Greece, collected from every region, whence the most undaunted champions of freedom for three centuries had issued forth to brave the fiercest rage of battle and run the noblest career of glory. By far the greater part of his infantry, however, were natives of the mountainous districts of the Superior Macedonia, cradled in the forest and rocked by the storm, who, having had their turbulent spirits regulated by the strict discipline of Philip, had constantly fought under his banners, and been trained, from their youth, to conquest. Such, in general, were the hardy bands that formed his infantry; while the wide plains of Thrace and Thessaly furnished him with squadrons of cavalry, the most expert and daring in the world. The total amount is stated by Arrian at thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, with

which he was now to contend against the uncounted myriads of Persia*.

Were I at the beginning instead of being near the close of a great historical work, I should be tempted by the subject to launch out pretty much at large into the history of this great man, to whose original cast of character and comprehensive scope of mind, bold to project, and vigorous to execute, plans of equal magnificence and utility, and of which, had he lived to mature them, the whole human race would probably have reaped the lasting benefit, preceding historians do not appear to have done sufficient justice. For what, had he been fortunate enough to have lived to subdue the irregularities of youthful vanity and passion, was not to have been expected from a prince of Alexander's genius and talents, tutored in the military art by so consummate a general as Philip, and in letters, philosophy, and politics, by so great a master in every science as Aristotle. The task, indeed, of drawing his portrait with the bold pencil which a character so transcendently distinguished by the noblest qualities, however sullied by temporary excess, requires, properly belongs to the general historian of his life, and not to him whose province is only to record his exploits in the limited sphere of Western Hindostan; but I cannot avoid, however prematurely, observing, that even those exploits entitle him to immortality. For, what general ever, before himself, carried on an Indian campaign, and kept the contested field, in the country of a brave and obstinate enemy during two rainy seasons? or what soldiers, besides those inured to the hardy athletic exercises of Greece, and brought up in the woods and mountains of Macedonia and Thessaly, could have borne, as, according to Diodorus, they cheerfully did, a continued drenching rain of *seventy* days†,

* Arrian Expedit. Alexand. lib. i. p. 18.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. cap. 94.

surrounded with the waters of the inundated Panjab; which must have been the case, since Alexander entered India in the spring*, when the rainy season had already begun in the mountains, and crossed the Hydaspes at the summer solstice, when it was at its height. Who ever, before Macedonia's Madman, as our great poet, ignorant of the vast designs he had formed, unwarrantably calls him, embarked so large an army on board a fleet hastily constructed; and, though every thing was at stake, in the ardent pursuit of those designs, dared the unknown perils of a rapid and dangerous river; exposed the greatest part of them to instant destruction, by coasting the Indian Ocean in the face of the monsoon; and successfully braved the accumulated horrors of the Gedrosian deserts? But I must not farther anticipate a subject upon which it will be my duty presently to expatiate more at large, and have merely premised thus much by way of apology for commencing, at so early a period of the life of Alexander, a history with which that of India has no intimate connection, till the battle of Arbela had decided the fate of the Persian empire. Still, however, the subject is not wholly irrelative; still it is the history of the Sovereign, by conquest, of Western Hindostan. Minute details are out of the question; a general sketch of occurrences, previous to that event, will be found of use to illustrate those that follow it. We shall be taught, by the survey, no longer to impute to motives of vanity and fruitless curiosity the perilous voyage down the Indus; the necessary, but arduous, subjection of the predatory nations who inhabited the banks of that river to a wild spirit of making conquests and a boundless thirst of plunder; nor consider the circuitous march along the desolate coast and burning sands of Carmania, to Baby-

* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 21.

lon, as the extreme of rashness and folly, or the result of a frantic desire to surpass the feats of Semiramis and Cyrus!

Alexander, according to the most esteemed of his biographers, was born in the summer of the year 356, and succeeded to the throne of Macedon in the year 336, before Christ; being at that time little more than twenty years of age. But the intellectual faculties of this prince by no means kept pace with the slow progress to maturity of the corporeal: in his earliest youth he astonished the court of his father by the display of unrivalled genius in almost every line of exertion; Nature seemed to have formed him for some project transcendently daring and magnificent, while Art and Science exhausted all their treasures to finish the prodigy. Before Christ, 336.

Whatever may be strictly called Grecian history, I mean such portions of it as are not immediately connected with that of Persia, and consequently with India, at this period in tributary dependence on the former empire, can have no claim to insertion in these pages. Yet, before we attend Alexander across the Hellespont, it will not be improper to observe, that the sudden death of Philip, the inexperienced age of Alexander, and the impatience of the Greek states to throw off the yoke of a Greek oppressor, had not permitted the latter to take quiet possession of the wide sovereignty acquired by his father. Trained up, however, in maxims of government equally vigorous in the design and rapid in the execution, Alexander allowed no time for opposition to ripen to maturity, or any general confederacy to be formed by the dissatisfied cities of Greece. With intrepidity and speed that evinced a mind fully adequate, even at this early period, to his new and important station, he immediately led the veteran troops of Philip to every district of Greece which had elevated the standard of rebellion against his authority. The states nearest to Macedon, which had set the first example of insurrection, soon found a second Philip among them, at once to charm them by

his eloquence and awe them by his sword. Thebes paid the penalty of its obstinate perseverance in rebellion by its utter destruction; and Athens itself was glad to escape the same fate by making the most abject submission to that conqueror against whom she had been the principal means of inciting the rest of Greece to take up arms*. In this disgraceful reverse of fortune, however, it should not be forgotten that she had the virtue to refuse surrendering up Demosthenes to the fury of his enemy, and Alexander was too ardently intent upon his meditated Persian expedition, to delay it, by prolonging the contest for the sole cause of punishing that obnoxious orator. Greece being thus restored to a state of profound tranquillity, Alexander was unanimously appointed generalissimo of its united forces destined to act against Persia, in a general assembly of the states convened for that purpose at Corinth; and, having made the necessary arrangements for preserving that security during his absence, both in Macedonia and the rest of the dependent cities, but especially in Macedonia, of which he appointed Antipater governor, with an army highly disciplined and brave, of twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse, he commenced that celebrated expedition, to the particular detail of which we now return.

Before Christ, 334.

Alexander was one of those enlightened princes who consider RELIGION as essential to the wise government of an empire. Previously, therefore, to his departure from Greece, he offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods of his country, in order to gain their protection and avert evil. Indeed, his conduct in this respect was uniformly consistent throughout the whole of his expedition, as no undertaking of consequence commenced or terminated without the solemnity of sacrifice. To these sacrifices succeeded public feasts of

* Arrian, lib. i. cap. 10, 11, et Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

great splendor, as between men of whom a great portion were doomed never to meet again. After which the king made ample presents to the courtiers, dividing among his friends even the royal domains and hereditary revenues. On this occasion there fell from him that remarkable expression which so strikingly displayed the grandeur of his designs and the extent of his views, fully demonstrating that he had no idea of a speedy return, if ever, to his hereditary kingdom of Macedon; for, when one of his courtiers, struck with the prodigality of his donations, asked him what he reserved for himself, Alexander replied, HOPE: in other words I have no occasion for the riches of Macedon; the treasures of Asia, the subjugated world, will shortly be mine*.

When the army assembled at Amphipolis, on the river Strymon, in order to pass over Hellespont into Asia, it amounted, according to Arrian, as before observed, to thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; the former commanded by Parmenio, the latter by the generals Philotas and Calas. Thence they marched to Sestos, where they embarked on board a fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys, of three benches of oars, besides others of smaller burthen. When the vessel which contained Alexander had reached the middle of the streight, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune, and poured out a libation to the Nereids from a golden cup. On approaching the continent, which was to be the scene of his future glory, Alexander, in a transport of joy, launched a javelin, which struck deep into the earth; and, when the ship reached it, he leapt in complete armour upon the shore, sacrificed to the tutelary gods of Greece, and immediately hastened to that Ilium of which his favourite Homer had early charmed him with the affecting tale. The electric effect which a visit of this kind, to a spot so consecrated

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 361.

from age to age, must have had on the mind of our young hero, may more easily be conceived than described; he sacrificed to the manes of the mighty heroes whom he made his exemplar; he adorned their tombs with garlands; and he departed with re-animated ambition to rival them in renown.

Under these impressions he pursued his march, without opposition, to the river Granicus, where an army, says Diodorus, of one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, commanded by the Persian governors of the neighbouring provinces, lay encamped, in order to dispute the passage. Arrian states the Persian force at twenty thousand foot and the like number of horse; but the Persians, who could always bring such immense armies into the field, would scarcely risk an action under the larger number of infantry mentioned by Diodorus, while Arrian's account of the cavalry may yet be correct, because on them their principal dependence lay. The Granicus was a river exceedingly rapid, and, in some parts, very deep; the banks were steep, broken, and craggy. No position, therefore, seemed to the Persian commander more eligible to check the career of the invading Greeks than the station they had chosen; but this arrangement was in diametrical opposition to that of an officer of far higher military experience than them all, Memnon of Rhodes, whom Darius had appointed commander-in-chief of the whole coast of Asia Minor, a man who well knew the desperate courage of the enemy with whom they had to engage. It was his decided opinion that the Persians should by no means, at this early period of the contest, hazard a battle with the more experienced Macedonians; but that their numerous cavalry should scour the country in every direction, laying all in desolation, that the supplies of forage and provision might be wholly cut off, and the invading enemy be driven to the necessity of a retreat from the mere pressure of famine. In the mean time, he proposed to send

an army into Macedonia, and thus divide their force and distract their councils. This judicious advice was over-ruled by the selfish policy of the governors of the maritime provinces, who, unwilling to have their satrapies desolated and their property destroyed, imputed these sound maxims in the science of war to latent treachery in Memnon.

The Persians, thus advantageously posted, and lining the whole shore to a great extent, conceived that every attempt to dislodge them must be fruitless, and looked down with dismay on the approaching army of the Macedonians. On the arrival of the latter, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy in numbers and their strong position; notwithstanding the fatigue of a long march which his troops had just undergone, and the urgent desire of Parmenio that he would defer the attack till the following morning; Alexander, disdaining to be stopped by a brook, as he termed the Granicus, after having passed an ocean, finding a place where the stream was fordable, commanded the trumpets to sound, and a considerable body of his light-horse to advance into the river, himself following at the head of the right wing, which consisted wholly of Thessalian cavalry, to give them support and animate them to the attack. The Persian horse, posted on the heights above, poured down upon them, as they forded the river, a shower of arrows, which killed and wounded many of the horses; and, as the Macedonians successively endeavoured to ascend the steep banks, pushed them back into the stream with their long spears. The place most favourable for effecting a landing was, in particular, guarded by a strong and select band of Persian cavalry, at the head of whom fought Memnon, the Rhodian, with his sons, and the most valiant of the Persian officers. These brave men made dreadful havoc of the assailing enemy, so that all that fought in the first ranks were slain, except a few who retreated to the stronger body

now advancing in an impenetrable phalanx, under Alexander himself. These, drawing up in order, as they reached the shore, by their superior discipline, their martial skill, and the strength and depth of their column, gradually gained ground upon the Persians, and drove them from their station.

The other battalions now pressing eagerly forward, successively ascended the bank, in spite of all the efforts of the Persians to repel them, and the contest became most obstinate and bloody. In the midst of it, Alexander observing Spithridates, son-in-law of Darius, mounted on a stately horse, and fighting valiantly at the head of a band of Persian officers and relatives, immediately rode up at full speed to the spot, and, at the first onset, thrust him through the mouth with his spear. At that instant Rhæsaces, the brother of Spithridates, coming up, aimed so furious a blow with his sword at the king's head, that it divided his helmet, grazed his skull, and struck off a part of his plume. He was just on the point of repeating the blow, which, in all probability, would have annihilated his hopes of being the conqueror of Asia, when Clytus, springing forward, with one stroke of his cimeter, cut off the sword-arm of the fierce assailant, and saved the life of his master. The Macedonians, animated by the example of their sovereign to brave every danger, now rushed upon the enemy, and soon routed all but the Greek mercenaries, who firmly stood their ground, and for some time sustained the attack of the whole army; but, being at length overpowered, were nearly all cut to pieces. Two thousand of them, who surrendered themselves prisoners, were sent in chains to Macedon, the just scorn of their fellow-citizens, for having fought on the side of the barbarians against their country. With them were transmitted three hundred suits of Persian armour, to be suspended as trophies in the temple of Pallas, in grateful remembrance of this

important victory *. Diodorus states the loss of the Persians, in the battle of the Granicus, at ten thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry; but it seems scarcely credible, considering the obstinate resistance of the Persians on its banks, and the numbers that perished in the river, that the loss of the invading army should only amount to eighty-five horse and thirty foot †. In this, as in all other similar cases throughout the campaign in Asia, we must allow no small latitude to Greek vanity and exaggeration.

We have been more particular in our account of this first engagement of Alexander in Asia, because it clearly shews the resolute character of the man, in exposing his life to such imminent danger, and his full confidence, or rather a kind of prescient conviction, of the success of his Asiatic expedition. The affair of the Granicus has been branded by Plutarch ‡ as the result of extreme rashness and almost insanity in the Macedonian hero, in attacking, to such infinite disadvantage, an army so superior in point of numbers and position; but he is fully exculpated by Arrian, who brings in Alexander, declaring it was done that the enemy might see the determined ardour with which he pursued his great object of subduing Persia, and that he might at once strike an irresistible terror into the soul of his enemies. The consequence was as Alexander had wisely prejudged; this decisive victory put him in possession of Sardis, the capital of Lydia, and all the adjacent region. The rich city of Ephesus surrendered to him without a summons; and, though at Miletus and Halicarnassus, he met with a vigorous resistance from the determined valour of Memnon, the Rhodian, who successively threw himself into those cities with a body of resolute Greeks, who had escaped with him from the battle of the Granicus, yet, on their

* Arrian, lib. i. cap. 17.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 367.

‡ Plutarch in Vit. Alexand.

subjection, all the other Greek cities of Asia joyfully opened their gates, and hailed him their deliverer from the bondage of Persia. The approach of winter put an end to the first campaign, and left him at full leisure to provide for the security of his new conquests.

Alexander, about this period, took the uncommon resolution of entirely dismissing his fleet; another circumstance that strongly evinces how very remote from his thoughts was an idea of returning to his hereditary dominions, and that he thought Asia already his own. At the same time, he took effectual care to render the Persian fleet useless, by immediate and vigorous efforts to make himself master of all the ports on its extended coast. To this end, having obtained fresh recruits to his army from Greece, during the winter, early in the spring of the year 333, he began his march through Phrygia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, and the other maritime provinces of Asia Minor, all which he rapidly subdued, appointing governors to each from the number of his most tried friends. In the mean time, Darius was by no means inactive. At the desire of Memnon himself, he dispatched that faithful and enterprising officer with a considerable army into Greece, with the view of exciting insurrection among the Greek states, and of compelling Alexander to return to the defence of his hereditary dominions. The unfortunate death of Memnon, by sickness, before Mytelene, which city he was at that time besieging, frustrated all the intended effects of this wise project; and Darius, now convinced of the necessity of vigorous exertion, summoned the forces of his vast empire to Babylon, where they assembled to the amount of nearly half a million. Instead, however, of waiting for Alexander in the wide plains of that province where his immense army, and, in particular, his cavalry, would have room to act to the greatest advantage against an army so very inferior, his evil genius hurried him into the fatal

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resolution of seeking the Macedonian monarch in the confined and mountainous district of Cilicia. On being informed of the movements of Darius, Alexander immediately commenced his march for Upper Asia, being determined to offer him battle, and he had already passed the three celebrated streights of that province, when, to his astonishment, he learned that Darius himself had entered Cilicia, and was at Sochas, within two days march of those streights. No intelligence could be more agreeable to Alexander than that of his enemy having taken a position in so confined a situation, as must necessarily deprive him of the use of half his forces; and therefore, without any delay, he repassed the streights, in order to bring him to engagement. Alexander, in advancing and forming his army for that purpose, contrived to have his right wing protected by the mountains, and his left by the sea, to prevent the possibility of being surrounded. Darius opposed to them, in his first line, thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, supported on their right and left by sixty-thousand heavy-armed Persian cavalry; the whole number of which the ground they occupied would allow. Behind the whole were ranged, in crowded and useless lines, the remainder of this unwieldy army, in the midst of which, according to an ancient custom of the Persian monarchs, Darius himself took his station. In this, as in the former battle, a river, — the river Pinarus, — separated the two armies.

Alexander took upon himself the command of the right wing of his army, with which he rushed forward to attack the left wing of that of Darius, which he broke and defeated. In the rapid pursuit of them he crossed the Pinarus; and, observing Darius fighting from his chariot, and surrounded with nobles and the flower of the Persian army, he eagerly pressed forward to engage him. He hoped, by an exertion of personal valour, at once to put an end to the contest; but successive bodies of horse interposing, prevented

his coming near enough to attack him, and the contest in that quarter soon became extremely violent and bloody; the heaps of slain nobility, who had sacrificed their lives to preserve that of their master, making almost an entrenchment round the chariot of the Persian sovereign. In the heat of the conflict, Alexander was wounded in the thigh; and the horses that drew the chariot of Darius, taking fright, became utterly ungovernable, and hurried their master from the scene of death. The involuntary flight of Darius was the signal for that of his troops, and the foremost ranks falling back upon each other, the first tumultuously pressing on the second, the second on the third, and so on, a scene of infinite confusion and disaster ensued, and multitudes were trampled to death both by the horses and by their comrades. As the conquerors kept on their pursuit, Darius was at length compelled to quit his chariot, and insure his safety by mounting a horse, and riding incessantly at full speed, till he reached the Euphrates.

The centre, consisting of the Macedonian phalanx, engaged the mercenaries that formed the opposite centre, and both fought with such obstinate bravery that for a long time the victory remained extremely doubtful; the mercenaries having more than once broke the phalanx; but the horse that formed the right wing, after routing the enemy's left, came to their aid, and turned the scale in favour of the latter. At that moment the carnage of the mercenaries became dreadful, being attacked both in front and flank, cut to pieces by the cavalry, and thrust through with spears by the infantry. Still, however, the greater part intrepidly stood their ground, selling their lives as dear as possible. At length, being reduced from thirty thousand to a third of that number, disdaining to yield, they made good their retreat, in excellent order, to the mountains of Syria, and, pursuing their route to the coast, embarked for Greece in the same transports that had brought them. As to the Persian

horse that formed the right wing of the enemy, they for a long time resolutely combated the powerful body of Thessalian horse that formed Alexander's left; but, seeing their own left wing totally routed, Darius fled, and the mercenaries compelled to retreat, they also betook themselves to flight. The chariot of Darius, containing his bow, his shield, and the imperial chlamys worn by the kings of Persia, but relinquished during his precipitate flight, in the pursuit were seized, and brought to Alexander. The superb tent of that monarch also, with his mother, his wife, his children, and a numerous train of Persian ladies of the highest rank, were among the spoil and captives of that day. The treasure, taken in the camp, did not exceed three thousand talents of silver; the rest, with an immense quantity of plate, rich furniture, and other articles of high value, had been sent for safety to Damascus; but these, also, shortly after, became the property of the victor. The numbers reported to have fallen on either side are, again, incredibly disproportionate; Arrian, the most authentic guide, stating the loss of the Persians at ninety thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and of the Macedonians of high rank, among whom was Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, he says there were one hundred and twenty *. Of the total amount of the slain in Alexander's army he gives no account; from which circumstance it may easily be gathered, that it must have been much greater than is stated by the highest computation in Diodorus, which is three hundred men †. Thus terminated the fatal battle of Issus; and, in commemoration of the decisive victory obtained at that place, Alexander afterwards erected that celebrated city near the scite of it, on the *Sinus Issicus*, or gulph of the same name, which is even at this day called after his name, in Persian,

* Arrian, lib. ii. cap. 10, 11.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. cap. 512-518.

Scanderoon, or the city of Escander, and by the Greeks Alexandretta, the sea-port of the great commercial city of Aleppo.

The path now lay immediately open to Babylon and the heart of Persia, but Alexander did not, at this period of the war, incline to pursue Darius beyond the Euphrates. He had other projects to be completed before he took entire possession of the vast empire which he seemed to be convinced DESTINY had reserved for him*. The grand scheme already formed within his comprehensive mind of uniting Europe and Asia by the ties of affinity and the bond of commerce, as well as giving a new, an ampler, and an unrestrained, current to that commerce, did not admit of the coast of Phœnice being left unconquered, nor the existence of TYRE, its capital where it had long centred, in its ancient glory, if at all. In truth, Alexander justly considered himself as only a state-prisoner in a vast empire, while a powerful Phœnician fleet, always at the beck of the Persian monarch, sailed triumphantly on the ocean; and, having as yet no navy of any importance, he was resolved to crush that abundant source of the Persian power at the fountain-head, by the utter humiliation, if not the annihilation, of Tyre. Regulating his conduct, therefore, by the above sound political maxim, and considering subjugated Asia itself as little better than a magnificent prison† until he should be fully master of its maritime regions, he marched, towards the close of the year 333 before

* Such was Alexander's and such was his historian, Arrian's, idea; but a Christian historian, however he may occasionally accommodate himself to a Pagan mode of expression, would be criminal if he did not add that THE POWER, who rules the *destiny of man*, HE who setteth up and putteth down kingdoms, had himself ordained Alexander, (Daniel, viii. 1-8,) *the mighty* HE-GOAT *with one horn*, to be the subverter of the Persian empire. When he had finished his *allotted task*, this AVATAR, (if we may so denominate him,) for his impiety and intemperance, was cut off. Mark, sceptic, and be dumb!

† As France in fact is, though far from a magnificent one, to its tyrannical rulers, at the present day, (1796.)

Christ, into Syria, where the cities of Biblos and Sidon immediately threw open their gates to him; but the merchant-princes of Tyre, probably conjecturing his real intentions, refused to admit his army within their walls, and prepared, without a moment's delay, for active and resolute resistance. There is scarcely any event more celebrated in the history of Alexander, or in the annals of maritime Asia, than the prolonged and vigorous siege, the obstinate and skilful defence, and final subversion, of Tyre, during which all the military science at that time known was not only exerted, but exhausted, by either party. It cost Alexander seven months to reduce it, and this unexpected delay undoubtedly provoked him to take that sanguinary revenge on its brave inhabitants, which remains a deep and indelible blot on his memory. All the circumstances of this memorable affair are minutely related by Arrian, and to that author the reader is referred for those particulars which would swell this volume to a disproportionate magnitude*.

Twice, during this protracted interval, ambassadors had arrived from Darius with offers of enormous sums as the ransom of the captive royal family, and with earnest supplication for peace on Alexander's own terms; but his views admitted of no peace till Asia was wholly subjugated: it was far from his intention to hold a divided empire with another. Asia itself was scarcely large enough for an Alexander.

Though there are some inconsistencies in Josephus's disputed account of the visit which Alexander paid to Jerusalem in his way to Gaza, of his prostration of himself before the high priest, and hearing the unequivocal prophecies relating to himself in Daniel, read and explained to him in the temple, in which he is also recorded by the same writer to have sacrificed to the true God; yet I

* Arrian, lib. ii. cap. 18-24.

cannot bring myself to believe, with a late writer*, that so circumstantial an account could ever have been forged by that author. It might have descended to him traditionally, and been omitted by Arrian and other biographers of Alexander, as in their opinion not important enough for the page of history †.

Difficulties scarcely less discouraging and numerous than those experienced at Tyre attended the reduction of Gaza; but the genius of Alexander surmounted them all, though in surmounting them he was severely wounded in the shoulder. The same genius displayed the consummate policy peculiar to itself in afterwards constituting that almost impregnable fortress, situated on the extremity of Egypt and Syria, a grand magazine of arms; at the same time leaving in it a numerous garrison. By these two arduous enterprises, his army being much reduced, he delayed his march into Egypt till he could procure fresh recruits from Greece, and these having at length arrived, he hastened thither, and, in seven days, reached Pelusium. The terror of his arms, added to the rooted detestation of the Egyptians for the Persian tyrants who had mutilated and slain their gods, opened for him an uninterrupted passage to Memphis, its capital; where, in direct opposition to the bigoted policy of the Persians, he offered public and splendid sacrifices, as well to the Egyptian as the Grecian deities. We shall scarcely ever find Alexander entering upon a new conquest, but he navigates the rivers and explores the coasts of the subjugated country. At Memphis he embarked on the Nile, and sailed down its stream through the Canopic, or most western mouth, into the ocean. It was the result of an accurate survey of that part of the coast, and of the advantageous situation it afforded for establishing there an emporium for the commerce of the whole world, on the conquest of which he

* The Baron de St. Croix.

† Vide Josephi Antiq. Judaic. lib. xi. sect. 8.

firmly depended, that induced him to give immediate orders for the erection of a city to be called after his own name. Of this celebrated city, which, for eighteen centuries, continued the glory of the East, and, from its opulence, was denominated *the Golden*, Alexander himself projected the magnificent plan, and marked the extended boundaries. It is said to have originally resembled, in form, a Macedonian mantle, having one vast street a hundred feet in breadth, and no less than five miles in length, open through its whole extent to the salubrious Etesian breezes blowing from the Mediterranean that bounded it on the north, while the great lake Mareotis constituted its southern limit. This noble street was intersected by others of equal breadth and beauty, running in parallel lines, forming, at their junction, extensive squares, and crowded with lofty edifices, temples, baths, amphitheatres, while walls of amazing height and thickness, flanked at regular distances with strong bastions, surrounded this intended metropolis of the commercial world. Its excellent port he caused to be cleansed and deepened, but it was reserved for his successors, the Ptolemies, to add the stupendous mole that joined Alexandria to the isle of Pharos, and divided the spacious harbour into two, as well as that majestic Pharos itself, erected entirely of white marble, which, for beauty and grandeur, had no rival, and was justly enumerated among the wonders of the ancient world. Its superb palace, its famous museum, its vast gymnasium, its noble library, though not all the immediate work of Alexander, but probably exactly finished by Ptolemy Lagus according to the plan of his sovereign, his friend, and his brother, all combined to render Alexandria a lasting monument of the towering genius of its founder, while it exhibited indubitable testimony of the grand commercial designs, which he had thus early formed, but which unfortunately he lived not to mature.

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To return to our narration:—Alexander, having consigned the charge of this great concern to Dinocrates, the immortal architect of the second temple of Diana, immediately commenced that extraordinary and perilous visit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in the deserts of Lybia, the incentives to which in the mind of a general of such foresight, and intent as he was upon the accomplishment of such arduous schemes, have proved the cause of infinite perplexity to all his biographers. The motives more generally assigned are, the example of Hercules, and his vanity to be thought the son of the Lybian, as Hercules was of the Grecian, Jupiter, who, in that superb and secluded sanctuary, was worshipped under the form of a ram. On this account, the tiara of Alexander, and, after him, of all the Macedonian sovereigns, was generally decorated with the HORN of that animal, his ambition aiming to be considered as his descendant; not that he was absurd enough to think so himself, but he politically yielded to the prevailing prejudices of the day, in regard to the celestial descent of heroes, and to the general impression that the conqueror of the world ought to be somewhat more than a mortal. It is remarkable, too, that the Oriental denomination of Escander is DULCARNEIN, or *Two-Horned*, because, as they explain it, in his career of conquest, he seemed to have passed from one horn of the sun to the other, or from west to east: it is, however, far more probable to have been derived from some adulatory Greek title, allusive to this Ammonian genealogy. Whatever might have been the motive, whether to rival Hercules, or to have himself publicly acknowledged the son of the Lybian Jove, and however exaggerated by historians may have been the sufferings of the army, during this expedition, there can be no doubt but that great peril was run in traversing those immense deserts immediately under a tropical sun, from the failure of water and the drifting of the sands in that arid region; as well as much unnecessary delay in the critical

situation of Alexander: nor is it easy to conceive of what utility it could prove adequate to the risk and inconvenience of such a toilsome march. His fortunate arrival and safe return, therefore, with such an army, are by all his biographers accounted as miraculous; and the effect of the interposing aid of that sovereign Jupiter, whose protection he sought, and whom he claimed as his august progenitor. Alexander, on his return, found the works, intended to make his new city the wonder of the East, already far advanced, and, marching to Memphis, received there ambassadors bearing congratulations from the various states of Greece, with a considerable body of fresh recruits, both cavalry and infantry.

Having placed a strong garrison in that city, and other fortresses of Egypt, headed by commanders of tried loyalty and valour, and every thing being now fully mature for the accomplishment of the great projects which he had been so long planning, of empire and of glory, Alexander, in the spring of the year before Christ 331, Before Christ, 331. hastened back into Syria; and thence bent his course to the Upper Asia, with the fixed determination of seeking Darius, wheresoever he was to be found, and deciding, by one general engagement, the fate of the interior of that vast continent, of which the whole maritime region was now entirely in his power. Animated by these hopes, and impatient for the dazzling prize, he passed with rapidity the intervening country between Tyre and the Euphrates, and, arriving at Thapsacus, on that river, repaired the bridge, over which Darius and his routed army had passed after the battle of Issus; but which now served to transport his conqueror into the heart of Mesopotamia. This was effected without opposition, notwithstanding the charge of guarding that passage had been committed to a Persian officer, named Mazæus, who was stationed there with a corps of three thousand horse and two thousand Greek mercenaries; for, at the near approach of the Macedonians, that commander immediately

retreated, setting fire to the whole country on his flight, that it might not afford forage and provisions to the invaders. Alexander now continued his progress towards Babylon, but not by the direct road, probably because that route was desolated by Mazæus; he, therefore, continued his march to the Tigris by a more circuitous, but, at the same time, less sterile, tract, keeping, says Arrian, the Euphrates and the Armenian mountains on his left hand *. Darius, in the mean time, had collected from all the distant provinces of his empire an army at least double in number to that which he had commanded at Issus, and had encamped at the village of Gaugamela, near Arbela, where a wide champaign country afforded ample room for his innumerable forces to act without that obstruction and confusion which were the necessary consequence of the former engagement in the narrow streights of Cilicia. Of those forces, and of their respective commanders, there is, in Arrian, a minute and circumstantial account, as well as the provinces whence they were drawn, among which it is only necessary for us to notice the INDIANS *adjacent to Bactria*, which are mentioned first in this muster-roll, and, added to the Arechosian troops, the INDIAN *mountaineers*, with a train of elephants from the districts beyond the Indus: a convincing proof that the Indians continued in that tributary dependence upon Persia, which we have all long contended they did, from their conquest by Hystaspes †.

On hearing that the Macedonian army were approaching the Tigris, Darius dispatched Mazæus, at the head of a considerable body of chosen horse, to give every obstruction possible to his passage of that river; but this precaution was ineffectual, for, before their arrival, Alexander had completed the passage, although with the utmost difficulty, from its extreme rapidity.

* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 7, 8. † Ibid.

Such was that difficulty, and such the fatigue they endured, that he was compelled to permit them to halt two whole days on the opposite banks to recover themselves; during which period a lunar eclipse, a phænomenon at all times esteemed by the Asiatics highly inauspicious, struck the Greeks with such terror, that they hesitated to proceed farther on an expedition to which earth and heaven seemed to be alike adverse, and in which they appeared to be hurried, by a spirit of unsatiated and indomitable ambition, equally beyond the limits of reason and the bounds of nature*. The pious policy of Alexander, however, on this as well as many other important occasions, failed not, by means of the flattering tribe of Egyptian soothsayers that attended his army, to convert this omen, as well as he had many preceding ones of a presumed malignant import, into an omen of triumphant success, and a means of exciting a general enthusiasm to an immediate battle; those venerable seers declaring, that, by this sign, it was evident that the glory of the Persian sovereign was eclipsed by that of the Macedonian; and that the lustre of the Persian crown would soon be extinguished for ever. This flattering interpretation of the omen being widely circulated through the army, revived their courage and inflamed their ardour. Alexander took advantage of this favourable change in their sentiments, and broke up his camp at midnight to go in quest of the enemy. Under these impressions, they continued their march through Assyria, and being at length arrived within a short distance of the Persian lines, he there halted, that he might grant his men that repose which they needed after their march, and lead them in full vigour and spirits against an army, formidable for its numbers and valiant from desperation.

* Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 23, 24.

At this period of awful suspense, ambassadors arrived from Darius, bearing, at once, that unhappy monarch's warmest acknowledgments for the magnificent funeral honours with which he had buried Statira, his queen, lately deceased, in the Grecian camp, and new overtures for an accommodation of their differences. He now offered him, as the price of peace, the uncontrolled sovereignty of all the countries lying between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, with the addition of thirty thousand talents, as the ransom of the royal captives. Parmenio in vain counselled his master to listen to proposals at once so liberal and honourable; but Alexander would hear of no terms short of the unconditional submission of Darius, and the explicit acknowledgement of himself as his lord and conqueror; adding, that there had been no instance, in the records of time or the history of nature, *of two suns shining forth in one firmament*. Such being the imperious answer returned to this embassy, the two monarchs prepared once more to settle, by arms, the final adjustment of their claims to the sovereignty of Asia*. The disposition of the Persian army, according to certain memoirs of its arrangement, found after the battle in the camp of Darius, was as follows: Numerous squadrons of Bactrian, Persian, and Arachosian, cavalry formed its left wing, opposed to Alexander's right. The right consisted of the Phœnician, Mesopotamian, and Median, horse, commanded by natives of those respective regions. In the centre, led on by Darius, surrounded by the flower of the Persian nobility, were placed the numerous infantry, composed of Babylonians, Susians, Indians, the royal guard, and the Greek auxiliaries, on whom he principally depended to repel the Macedonian phalanx, which always formed the enemy's centre. In the front of his army were ranged two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and a

* Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 26. Justin, lib. ii. cap. 12.

considerable body of elephants obtained from the tributary provinces of India. Of the army of Alexander in the front and centre, as we just observed, were stationed the Macedonian phalanx as an impregnable bulwark; and, behind them, the auxiliary Greek infantry. Alexander himself, as usual, commanded the right wing, consisting of the Macedonian and auxiliary horse; while the left, composed principally of Thessalian cavalry, was led on by Parmenio. As the army of the enemy covered nearly twice the space of ground occupied by his own, and it was probable they might attempt to surround him, these wings were directed to extend themselves as wide as they possibly could, without too much weakening their strength. The rear of the centre-battalions had also orders, in that case, to face about, and charge the encircling enemy with their spears; and, as a still farther precaution, Alexander took care to have a flying squadron of considerable force in reserve against such an emergency. In respect to the scythe-armed chariots, on whatever quarter they might make their attack, orders were issued for that division immediately to open, that their progress might be unobstructed, and, consequently, innoxious. The Persian army on this grand occasion, if estimated at a fair average of the varying historians, amounted to five hundred thousand foot and forty thousand horse: that of Alexander is said, by Arrian, to have been only seven thousand horse and forty thousand foot*.

Such, very generally stated, (for it is not necessary, nor, amidst the jarring accounts of the ancients, is it possible, to be minutely correct,) were the numbers and arrangement of the mighty armies that contended at Gaugamela for the sovereignty of Asia. The Persian army, numerous as it was, by no means possessed the vigour and spirit proper for such an important day, having, in the constant apprehen- Before Christ, 331.

* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 11, 12.

sion of an attack from the enemy, been all night under arms, and consequently exhausted by that unnecessary vigil. Alexander commenced the dreadful contest by a furious attack at the head of his right wing on the Scythian and Bactrian cavalry that formed the left of the enemy. These brave and athletic natives of the Northern Asia repelled the assault with equal fury, while, to assist their efforts and break the impetuosity of the Macedonian horse, the scythe-armed chariots were ordered to bear down upon that division. A shower of darts, javelins, and other missile weapons, from a select band of archers, stationed at hand for the purpose, was immediately poured upon the charioteers and horse, which wounded some and killed others; while the troops dividing as directed, opened to the remainder a clear passage through the midst of them to the troops in reserve, who were prepared to complete their destruction. The unwieldy Indian animals, at the same time, being severely galled by the javelins and terrified by the shouts of the assailants, were driven back on the Persian infantry, and becoming ungovernable, through the violence of pain, spread confusion and dismay wherever they came. The conflict between the right and left wings was soon renewed with redoubled fury, and the hardy Scythians, as often as routed, presently rallied again, and returned to the charge. No exertions, however, of barbarian fortitude could long resist the disciplined bravery and superior manœuvring of the Macedonian and Grecian horse. After an obstinate contest, the former were entirely broken and dispersed. Alexander did not lose time in pursuing the fugitives; but, wheeling about, fell with his whole force on the flank of the Persian centre; and the Macedonian phalanx, that formed his own centre, immediately coming up, and attacking them in front, they were quickly thrown into irrecoverable disorder, betaking themselves to flight in every direction. The auxiliary Greeks, however, and the body-guard of Darius, whose station was always in the centre,

disdained to fly, and for a long time fought with obstinate intrepidity; though excessively impeded in their movements by the pressure of the immense throng around them, who had already suffered discomfiture.

The immediate presence of the two mighty competitors for Asia, the amazing greatness of the stake, and the exasperation of personal animosity between the loyal and rebellious Greeks, between those who fought for the liberty of their country and those who combated to overthrow it, animated either party to deeds of incredible bravery, and the carnage in that quarter became not only continued and horrible, but the ultimate success was, for a long time, in the highest degree doubtful. At the hottest period of the contest, a circumstance occurred that immediately turned the scale in favour of the Macedonians; for Alexander, impatient of protracted victory, with all his strength launching a javelin at his rival as he sate fighting in his lofty and splendid car, struck the charioteer to earth. An immediate rumour spread rapidly through the ranks that Darius himself was slain, and the loud and piercing shrieks of lamentation that followed, for the fallen sovereign, served at once to propagate and confirm the disastrous report. All the rest of the royal family, who were in the battle, supposing that every thing was now lost, immediately fled with the guards; and Darius, in the agony of his despair, is reported by some of his historians to have drawn his cimeter with intent to dispatch himself; but, looking eagerly round, and seeing the large portion of his army that formed his left wing, still furiously engaged with the enemy, and a few loyal battalions still encircling him, he was received into the centre of that faithful band, and by them protected in the flight which his personal safety now rendered indispensably necessary*. The imminent danger which

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 540.

at that instant threatened Parmenio and the left wing, prevented any vigorous pursuit on the part of the Macedonians; for that body was nearly surrounded by Mazæus at the head of the numerous and expert body of cavalry, principally Median and Parthian, that formed Darius's right wing, and nothing but the instant and effectual succour, which the Macedonian sovereign was thus enabled to give them, saved them from entire destruction. During also this unfortunate situation of Parmenio, and the distant engagement of Alexander, a considerable body of Indian and Persian horse had taken an opportunity to penetrate even to the Macedonian camp, and assisted by the Barbarian captives, who had risen upon their weak guard, were plundering the tents and baggage. These were immediately attacked by the rear of the centre-division, who had faced about, as commanded in the general orders of the day, and were in part defeated; but the assailants, being horse, could not be pursued. In their retreat, however, with the plunder, they were met by Alexander on his return to succour Parmenio; the spoil was retaken, and themselves almost to a man cut to pieces. As soon as the troops had reached their object,—the right wing,—a combat still more determined and bloody than that in which he had already been engaged with the left commenced, and on this occasion many of his most valuable officers were wounded; among whom was Hephæstion. Victory was at length, though dearly, earned, and the rout became universal and complete. Parmenio then returned with Alexander to the pursuit of Darius, whom they followed as far as Arbela, about six hundred stadia, or seventy-five English miles, distant from the field of battle, but could not overtake; the royal fugitive never thinking himself secure, nor stopping till he had reached the remote northern provinces. Immense piles of baggage, treasure in money and bullion, and rich furniture of every description, again became the property of the victor; and, in

this battle, denominated that of Arbela, but fought, in reality, at Gaugamela, a village on the banks of the river Bumelus, according to Arrian, no fewer than three hundred thousand of the enemy were slain, while the loss of the Macedonians and auxiliaries together is most absurdly and incredibly stated to have amounted to only one hundred horsemen, and a thousand horses, who died in the heat and fatigue of pursuit, or of wounds received during the engagement*.

After this important victory, Alexander, still adhering firmly to his original opinion, that *religion was essential to the wise government of a great empire*, returned thanks to heaven in a profusion of splendid and costly sacrifices. Despairing at that time to overtake Darius, he afterwards marched to Babylon, of which city the gates were thrown open to him by Mazæus, the Persian governor, and where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants; for, the intolerant spirit of their former masters, in point of religion, had induced them to act with the same hostility towards the magnificent temple of Belus with which they had acted towards the temples of Egypt and of Greece. In this great city he refreshed himself and his army thirty days; admiring its lofty walls and superb edifices, taking possession of its immense treasures, and unhappily too much indulging in those voluptuous excesses so customary in great cities, and, in fact, so congenial to his time of life. His conduct began to be visibly affected by the mighty change in his fortune, which converted the humble sovereign of Macedon into the uncontrolled emperor of Asia: he assumed all the pomp and magnificence of the ancient Persian monarchs, and, still indulging the favourite idea of his descent from Jupiter, he wished to engraft divine upon human honours. Excuses have in vain been urged for this altered

* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 14, 15, ubi supra.

conduct by his partial biographers; but none are adequate to his vindication. To strike a degree of awe and veneration into the minds of his new subjects, though it might be necessary for Alexander to affect the pomp and splendour which distinguished the court of the ancient sovereigns of the Persian empire, it was by no means necessary that he should disgrace it by unbounded luxury and continued intemperance. That fatal rock, on which he knew their power had been so recently wrecked, ought to have kept him steady in the rigid practice of Macedonian temperance; and he ought to have made the great Cyrus the founder, and the first Darius the establisher, and not the last, the subverter, by his effeminacy, of that vast empire, the bright exemplar of his conduct. Hardy and inflexible in the field, when surrounded by numerous and active enemies, in the face of danger and on the verge of death, when the strongest cities were to be besieged, the loftiest mountains to be crossed, and the deepest rivers to be forded, Alexander was *invincible;* but, the instant he was seated on the throne of Darius, he seems to have forfeited that superior title,—his virtue and his fortitude,—by which he gained possession of it; and, in the moment of victory, became *vanquished.* Thus inconsistent is MAN, the victim of contending passions, the sport of endless vicissitudes; MAN, who seems to be conspicuously placed on the great theatre of time, to become the successive object of respect and of commiseration; a spectacle of alternate admiration and derision!

This general relaxation, however, in point of morals and discipline, was not accompanied with any relaxation of vigorous exertion in regard to the great and ultimate object of Alexander's ambition. An attentive view of the situation of Babylon, near the confluence of two noble rivers rolling from the centre of civilized Asia into the great Eastern ocean, and in an abundant and delightful province, convinced him, that on that spot alone should stand the im-

perial residence of the conqueror of the East. His conduct at Persepolis, the ancient capital of the kings of Persia, clearly, I think, demonstrates this project to have been formed in his mind before he quitted Babylon to pursue Darius and Bessus. Another circumstance occurred at Babylon, greatly to the honour of Alexander and the advantage of that literature which he was ever forward to patronize; a circumstance, which, by some, may be thought to counter-balance the excesses committed at that metropolis, I mean his researches relative to the astronomical observations made by the Chaldæan priests, at the observatory of Belus, during a period of one thousand nine hundred and three years, and the transmission of the table of them by Calisthenes to Aristotle. As that period extends back as far as the age of Nimrod, the discovery has proved of the last importance to history, science, and religion; but the subject has been too amply discussed in the former volume, and its consequence to the systems, both of sacred and pagan chronology, too frequently pointed out, to require being farther dwelt upon in this place*.

His army being reinforced from Greece with thirteen thousand five hundred foot and about two thousand horse, Alexander commenced his march to Susa, that immense store-house of the wealth of the Persian monarchs, which now became the reward of Macedonian perseverance and valour. On his approach to the city he was met by Abulites, the Persian governor, with presents of great value, among which are again enumerated *elephants which Darius had procured from the tributary provinces of India;* an animal, adds

* I request, also, the reader's particular attention to what is said, on this subject, in the preceding pages of the present volume. Had this acquisition been the only fruit of Alexander's expedition, it would have been of incalculable benefit to science; but it also opened to the Greeks, for the first time, an acquaintance with Asia beyond the Euphrates; and it certainly laid the foundation of all our knowledge of India, which will, I trust, prove no inadequate apology for my detailing that expedition at such length.

Curtius, now no longer an object of terror to the Macedonians*. To its magnificent palace, said by Diodorus to be the noblest edifice in the world†, he restored the mother and daughters of Darius, and established them there in splendor, only not imperial. Having performed this act of honourable attention to his unfortunate prisoners; having, also, replenished his treasury from the overflowing abundance of that of Susa, and placed a strong garrison in this fortress; he pursued his march, not without great obstruction, from the nature of the mountainous country through which he passed, and the determined opposition of some noble chieftains, who remained steady in their loyalty to Darius, and guarded the frontiers into Parsis, or Persia, properly so called. The governor of Persepolis, its renowned capital, by no means possessed the unshaken loyalty which had distinguished those on the frontiers; but invited the approach of Alexander, and threw open its gates to the foes of his master. The massacre of its numerous inhabitants, the plunder of its vast treasures, and the burning of that celebrated palace which a long race of illustrious princes had laboured to adorn with whatever is costly in price and exquisite in science, were the unhappy consequence, and fix an everlasting blot on the character of Alexander, in other respects the patron of the arts and the friend of the wretched. Pasargadæ, the city built by Cyrus, and rendered sacred by the tomb of that monarch, was next plundered; and, early in the spring, Alexander again renewed his pursuit of Darius, who, disdaining to surrender himself to an usurper, was, as he had recently been informed, at Ecbatana, in Media‡. By forced marches, in fifteen days, he reached that capital, a distance of nearly four thousand stadia, or five hundred miles, where he had the mortification to find that Darius had left it, at the head of a considerable

Before Christ, 330.

* Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 2. † Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. cap. 66. ‡ Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 19.

body of troops, principally Greek infantry and Bactrian horse, who yet remained faithful to him, five days before; and had passed the Caspian Streights with intent to seek protection or to raise fresh forces in the most distant provinces of his empire. Nothing, however, could damp the ardour of his pursuit, and he resolved to follow him, if necessary, even to the pole.

In the strong and remote fortress of Ecbatana, Alexander deposited, under the care of Harpalus, his treasurer, the accumulated wealth obtained in the plunder of the great cities of Persia, amounting, in the whole, according to Strabo, to a hundred and eighty thousand talents, thirty millions sterling*; and he left with him a guard of six thousand Macedonian foot and a proportionate body of horse. He had scarcely passed the Caspian Streights, when tidings reached him of the seizure of Darius by the traitor Bessus and his comrades, who had bound him in chains (of gold, says Curtius), and were hurrying away the royal prisoner, closely confined in a chariot, covered with the skins of beasts, to his government of Bactria. On this affecting intelligence, Alexander urged on the pursuit day and night with such precipitation, that many of the men and horses perished through the severity of the fatigue they underwent. As he approached nearer the ruffians, he learned that Bessus affected to wear the imperial purple, and had been hailed the sovereign of Persia by the whole army, except the Greek mercenaries and a few faithful Persian battalions.

The ardour and impatience of Alexander's mind prevented him from sinking under the incessant fatigue he had endured; and, at length, arriving at a village in which Bessus and his Bactrian adherents had encamped the preceding day; fearful, also, that their treason might even attempt the life of Darius, he pressed on with

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 741.

redoubled eagerness, being conducted by certain loyal Persian nobles, who detested the perfidy of Bessus, along a private road, till he came suddenly within sight of the rebels, who, ignorant of his approach, were leisurely pursuing their march, and in much disorder. Though Alexander had with him but an inconsiderable body of troops, compared with those of the enemy, yet the terror of his name and the consciousness of guilt had such a powerful effect upon them, that they immediately betook themselves to precipitate flight. Bessus and his treacherous accomplice, Nabarzanes, who, with Darius, were advanced considerably before the main body of the army, on being informed of their situation, anxiously solicited their royal prisoner to quit the chariot which conveyed him, and continue on horseback his progress into Bactria; but the indignant monarch refused any longer to be the dupe of their artifices, and declared himself determined rather to confide his life in the hands of a generous enemy than to perfidious friends. On this, the enraged parricides pierced him through with darts, and left him covered with wounds. They also killed the driver, and struck their spears into the horses that drew the chariot. Those animals, being in agony and without a guide, wandered a few furlongs out of the road to a stream of water, to which Polystratus, a Macedonian, wearied and heated in the pursuit, accidentally came to quench his thirst. The groans of a dying man that seemed to issue from the carriage awakened his curiosity; and, on removing the covering, he beheld Darius pierced with darts, and "weltering in his blood." The dying prince had sufficient strength left to demand some water, which a Persian captive, who attended the Macedonian, understood, and which was given him by Polystratus in his helmet; the Persian, who, at a distance, had witnessed the cruel conduct of Bessus, at the same time acquainting him with the rank and tragical catastrophe of the personage whom he thus benevolently relieved.

Darius refreshed, amidst the agonies of death, by the cooling draught, embraced the opportunity which Providence seemed to afford him, in having the Persian for his interpreter, to desire that his warmest acknowledgements might, through Polystratus, be tendered to Alexander, for the humane attention which he had shewn to his family; he implored heaven to grant him that success which his valour and generosity so highly merited; and expressed an ardent hope that he would revenge a murdered sovereign on his rebellious subjects. Then, grasping the hand of Polystratus with all the strength that yet remained to him, he entreated of him that he would, in the same manner, grasp the hand of Alexander, as the only humble pledge of genuine and grateful affection in his power to bequeath to the Macedonian monarch*. Having faintly uttered these affecting words, he expired in the arms of Polystratus. A Greek embittered his living, a Greek soothed his dying, moments. Alexander, at that instant, coming up, on beholding the mangled and breathless body of his rival, could not refrain from bursting into a flood of tears. Penetrated with anguish,—anguish not, perhaps, untinctured with remorse,—he tore the royal mantle from his own shoulders, and spread it over the body of Darius. He then gave orders for its being embalmed, and sent it in a rich coffin, adorned with the most costly robes and embalmed with the richest aromatics, to the disconsolate Sisigambis, to be interred in the mausolea of the Persian kings.

Such was the melancholy end of the last monarch of the Caianian dynasty, who thus prematurely perished, after a disastrous reign of six years, in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the month Hecatombœon, (August,) before Christ 330†. The varying accounts

* Curtius, lib. v. cap. ult.

† According to Usher, the first day of this month answers to our 24th of July.—Usherii Annal. p. 167.

transmitted down to us of Darius by the Oriental and Greek historians have been already noticed; and, in fact, they are so utterly contradictory, that there is no possibility of reconciling them in the character of one person. In such turbulent periods, and from people so inveterately hostile to each other, the true portrait of neither the conqueror nor the conquered can, perhaps, be drawn; nor ought it to be expected. If the Greeks have described the Persian monarch in amiable characters, many of the Orientals, and, in particular, the Indians and Persians, by tradition, depict Alexander in the most odious colours; representing him as divested of every great and generous quality, and never naming him but as a "most mighty robber and remorseless destroyer of the human race*.

* Holwell's Interesting Historical Events, part ii. p. 4.—Chardin's Voyages en Perse, tom. ii. p. 185.—Herbelot, article Escander and Dara.

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDER *pursues* BESSUS *into Bactria.—Traverses the Northern Asia.—Crosses* PAROPAMISUS.—*Conquers the Nations to the West of the* INDUS.—*Passage of the* INDUS.—*Of the* HYDASPES.—*Battle with* PORUS, *or* PAURAVA; *and Subjugation of Western India.—The Army mutinies.—He erects stupendous Altars, and returns.—Voyage down the* INDUS.—*Progress of the Army through* GEDROSIA, *and of the Fleet up the* PERSIAN GULPH.—*Return to* BABYLON.—*Death of* ALEXANDER.—*Conclusion.*

THE mighty projects of Alexander were now approaching to maturity, and Asia bows her head to the hereditary sovereign of the small kingdom of Macedon. Indignation at the unworthy treatment of Darius, and solicitude to revenge the insult offered, in the murder of that prince, by his rebellious subjects, to thrones and the imperial dignity in general, urged Alexander to continue the pursuit of Bessus into the more northern provinces of Asia. This, however, was not done immediately, as the treason of that regicide, and his assumption of the purple, awakened indeed his resentment, but inspired him with no apprehension. He wished to render permanent the conquests he had recently made, and to prevent the danger of revolt, by striking that terror into the adjoining provinces which his presence with a victorious army so powerfully excited wheresoever he went. Many hardy and valiant nations, also, in that region of Asia, remained to be subjugated; and, therefore, quitting Parthia, the Macedonian army marched into Hyrcania,

where they found, as they had been taught to expect, a vigorous resistance from various resolute and barbarous tribes of warriors, inhabiting that mountainous province and the shores of the Caspian Sea; especially from the predatory race of the Mardi. To this district the Persian troops and Greek mercenaries, who had been faithful to Darius, under all his misfortunes and defeats, had retired: honourable conditions were now offered to them by Alexander, and accepted *.

He then marched into and subdued the province of Aria, of which the classical appellative is recognized in *Herat*, its present capital. Drangiana and Arachosia, the modern Sejestan and Zablestan, provinces which we have observed were for several ages held by the descendants of the great Rostam, the Hercules of Persia, in a state almost independent of the Persian crown, and border upon India itself, next felt and trembled at the Macedonian power. The Drangæ, alluded to above, are called by Arrian *Zarangæ*, but they were certainly one people; for, D'Anville has well remarked †, that this diversity in the orthography of the same name is produced by a practice, familiar to the Orientals, of interchanging the *Zain* and the *Daled*. There is no modern Persian name at all corresponding with Drangiana; but as it will be useful, in our progress through part of Asia, to give, from this author, the modern denomination when the least resemblance can be traced, it may be noticed that the scite of Arachosia is recognized in the Oriental name of its present capital, *Arrokhage*. That a connection and correspondence still subsisted between these Persian satrapies and the frontier provinces of India is evident, from a remarkable circumstance recorded in Arrian, viz. that

* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 24.—Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 537.

† Ancient Geography, under Asia.

Barzaantes, at that time prince of the country, who had been one of the murderers of Darius, on Alexander's approach, fled for protection into the provinces beyond the river Indus; with the additional circumstance, that the Indians sent him back to Alexander, who executed the traitor*. This fact is the more deserving of attention, because, if Arrian were rightly informed, it proves that the fame of Alexander had already reached the Indians, who dared not protect even so considerable a person as the prefect of the Arachosians and Drangæ. He is afterwards said, by the same author, to have proceeded against the *Indians in that quarter;* but, from pursuing at this time any attempt on India itself, he was prevented, by certain intelligence, that Bessus was growing formidable in Bactriana, had assumed the name of Artaxerxes, and displayed, on his brows, at public entertainments, the diadem of Persia. Nothing can more fully demonstrate Alexander's contempt for the usurper than his advancing so far southward as Aria and Arachosia; whereas Bessus and Bactriana lay behind him in a quite contrary direction.

There can scarcely be a doubt that Alexander conceived, during this last expedition, the first idea of penetrating into India beyond the Sinde, as the natives term the Indus. He had observed, perhaps, with admiration, the martial and splendid appearance which they made in his various battles with Darius; the stately, though unwieldy, animals their country produced, and history and common report had informed him of other prodigies, and the immense riches in which it abounded. Among the Arians also and the Arachosians, who largely shared the commerce of India, (for, Cabul is the capital of Zablestan,) he might have discovered other convincing proofs of the amazing advantages, which, from a firm connection and an extended commerce with India, would redound to

* Arrian, lib. iii, cap. 25, at the close of that chapter.

the conqueror. This observation is confirmed by an attention to geographical circumstances; for, thus we read in the excellent little treatise so frequently above referred to:—"We may place the large province of SIND next to Segestan, because, though it is generally reckoned a part of India, yet it comprehends both Mocran, the ancient Gedrosia, and Multan, which have been considered as provinces of Persia; and here we may observe, that the Eastern geographers divide the Indian empire into two parts, which they call HIND and SIND. By Hind, in its strictest sense, they mean the districts on both sides the Ganges; and, by Sind, the country that lies on each side of the Sindab, or Indus, especially where it discharges itself into the ocean. Sind, therefore, including Mocran and Multan, is bounded on the south by the Indian Sea, which embraces it in the form of a bow: it has Hind on the east, and, on the west, Kerman, with part of Segestan, which also bounds it on the north; but if, with some geographers, we make it comprise even Zablestan and Cabul, its northern limits will extend as far as Cashmere*." Possibly, also, other causes, resulting from the proximity of the two countries, might have operated towards strengthening his idea of invading India, such as that constantly given by the Asiatics, the withholding from the new monarch the ancient stipulated tribute, and Barzaantes himself might possibly not have been given up without menaces.

It was during Alexander's stay among the Arians and Arachosians, at the close of the present year, that a spirit of mutiny and disaffection, from the great length of the campaign, began very generally to pervade the Macedonian army. His partial adoption, though extremely politic, of the Persian dress, and his assumption, in some degree, of the manners of the conquered people, so contrary to the

* Sir William Jones's Description of Asia, p. 8.

rigid severity of the Grecian character, gradually tended to weaken their ancient attachment to him, and even alienate from him the affection of his best friends. Hence various conspiracies were formed against the life of the altered prince; and, though that imputed to Philotas in particular be involved in not a little mystery and doubt, it is not impossible but that the high, and yet unconquered, spirit of Grecian independence might have justified to itself the elevation of the dagger against the presumed assassin of Grecian liberty. Whether Philotas were innocent or criminal is still a question of deep perplexity; but no kind of uncertainty whatever hangs over the fate of the aged and venerable Parmenio, whose unjust murder, aggravated by the concomitant circumstances, must ever remain another deep blot on the character of his destroyer.

On receiving the above information of the public and avowed competition of Bessus for the empire of Asia, the king immediately led his army towards Bactria, and crossed the Paropamisus, improperly denominated Caucasus by the Grecian writers, either from national vanity or adulation of Alexander, in the most rigorous season of the year. In crossing it, the army suffered severely from the piercing cold, which, owing to its vast elevation and the accumulated snow that falls on its summit during the winter-months, even in that moderate latitude, only 33° north of the equator, is intense. On the descent of that mountain, known to the present inhabitants by the term of Hindoo-Ko, Alexander founded a city, distinguished by ancient geographers as the Paropamisan Alexandria, and of which the name and scite decidedly mark it for the modern Candahar, (a name derived from Escander,) the key of the western provinces of Persia. This city, like Alexandria, has survived amidst the wreck and revolutions of the other great cities of the East, and continues, to this day, a fortress of great strength and the capital of a considerable district, known to the ancients by the name of Paropamisus, thus deno-

minated from the vicinity of the mountain. He peopled Alexandria with about seven thousand Greeks, who were either too infirm from their wounds or from age, to bear longer the fatigues of such an arduous campaign, and, thus disencumbered, pressed on with increased celerity into Bactria. Neither the inclement season, (for, it was still the depth of winter,) nor a country entirely laid in desolation by Bessus, to obstruct the progress of the invading army, could check his impetuous career. He directed his first attack against Drapsica, a considerable city in those parts, (now *Bamian*), which he took, and where he refreshed his army after their sufferings in crossing Paropamisus. He then assailed with success Aornus, a rocky fortress on a mountain of great strength, and, lastly, Bactra, its capital, the modern *Balk*. Alarmed at these rapid movements of his indefatigable enemy, Bessus, at the head of a great body of Bactrian and Sogdian horse, passed over the Oxus into Sogdiana; and, after burning all the vessels which he had used in the transportation of his forces, fortified himself at Nautaca, a city of Sogdiana, now called *Nekshab*. This large and fertile province is so denominated from the beautiful valley of Sogd, one of the four paradises of Asia, through the midst of which rolls the noble river Cai, "which branches into a thousand clear streams, that water the gardens and cultivated lands, with which the whole plain is covered*." On its banks stood Maracanda, its capital, the modern Samarcand, a city very celebrated in the annals of Asia and in the page of her enraptured poets. But this delightful and secluded region was now doomed to become the theatre of a war of dreadful devastation; not indeed between Alexander and Bessus, for the latter was soon overpowered, but between that conqueror and a hardy race of northern warriors, Sogdians and Scythians, reluctant to bear Ma-

* Sir William Jones's Description of Asia, p. 23.

cedonian fetters; a race among whom Freedom had taken up her ancient abode, and Virtue delighted to reside.

Alexander, in his pursuit, arriving at the Oxus, called by the Orientals Gihon, that vast river (now lost in the sands) which formed the ancient barrier between the empires of Iran and Turan, was astonished at the magnitude of the river, which was three quarters of a mile in breadth, of proportionable depth, and extremely turbulent and rapid. All the timber in the neighbourhood had been designedly cut down by Bessus, so that there existed no possibility of constructing rafts; and every fragment of a vessel had been destroyed. Thus circumstanced, the bravest and most experienced generals of his army despaired of prosecuting farther the pursuit of Bessus and the conquest of Northern Asia. It is on occasions arduous and momentous as these, that true Genius displays the genuine stamp of its celestial descent, and rises superior to the dictates of fear and the pressure of danger. Alexander, after some reflection, having read that the first boats were made of wicker, covered with hides, (as in fact those of the old Britons were,) determined upon trying the experiment; and ordered all the skins, used by the army for the covering of their tents and baggage, to be stuffed with straw and other light materials, and so strongly sewed together, as to resist the entrance of the water. On these, firmly compacted in the short space of five days, he safely transported his whole army to the opposite banks, and immediately commenced his march for Nautaca, whither he had been informed Bessus had retired. In his way thither, he received intelligence, by deserters, that the greater part of the Bactrian horse had left Bessus and dispersed, and, shortly after, heralds arrived from Spitamenes and other Persian officers, most in his confidence, with intelligence that they had risen upon the bloody usurper, had bound him in chains, and were ready, on certain conditions, to surrender him in that state to Alexander. With those conditions the king

readily complied; and Bessus was brought, manacled in the fetters with which he had insulted his sovereign, to the Macedonian camp. Like a furious savage, unworthy to wear the garb of a man, Spitamenes himself, according to Curtius, led him, stark naked, by a chain that encircled his neck, into the presence of Alexander, who, ordering his nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him over to Oxyartes, the brother of Darius, that, after suffering all the refined tortures due to his unprovoked cruelty, he might be shot to death with arrows, in the same manner as he had dispatched Darius *.

Before Christ, 329.

Had Alexander's sole object been the capture and punishment of Bessus, now that object was accomplished, he probably would have yielded to the wishes of a harassed army, and have returned to Babylon, or, at least, to Candahar and the provinces adjoining India; the invasion of which country he seems early to have meditated. But it was his intention not to be the nominal sovereign over any part of Asia; he meant to found his claim to the title of sovereign on actual conquest. Animated by this hope, he determined to march to Maracanda, the capital; and having procured, from the hardy breed of the country, a considerable addition of horses to supply the place of those that had perished in crossing the snows of Paropamisus and at the passage of the Oxus, he now pursued his progress into the heart of Sogdia, and even to the Iaxartes, (the modern *Sihon*, or *Sir*,) that bounds it northward. The same species of vanity that led the Macedonians to term Paropamisus the Caucasus, induced them to denominate this river the Tanais, whereas that river (now the *Don*) rolls at a great distance to the north, separating Asiatic Scythia from Europe. Near the banks of the Iaxartes, a body of thirty thousand natives having assembled, had greatly annoyed the advanced detachments, and cut off the foraging parties. Elated with this tem-

* Curtius, lib. vii. cap. 20. Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 30.

porary success, the barbarians retired to a rocky eminence in the neighbourhood, exceedingly steep and rugged, whence it required no small exertions of Alexander to dislodge them; a great number of his troops being killed in the difficult ascent and assault, and himself shot through the leg with an arrow, which shattered the fibula, or smaller bone*. This bold but successless effort of the Sogdians and Scythians seemed but as a signal for the revolt of the whole adjoining country; and, effectually to crush it, it became necessary to besiege and carry by storm no less than seven considerable cities, of which Cyropolis, built by Cyrus, was the strongest, and taken not without a violent conflict, in which Alexander was again wounded. He received intelligence, also, that the dispersed Bactrians, who had followed Bessus, had rallied in great force, with Spitamenes at their head, and were besieging Maracanda. Alexander immediately sent off a strong reinforcement to the Macedonian garrison in that city; but, having commenced the erection of a strong fortress on the Iaxartes, for the purpose of overawing the country and preventing a second revolt, as well as for its defence against the future incursions of the Scythians, he would not personally relinquish, till it was finished, so necessary and important an undertaking. But the Scythians, pouring down to the river-side in great bodies of horse, were determined that no fortress should be erected either to repel their incursions or effect the conquest of them. They boasted, (however falsely, as the reader has seen above,) that they were a people hitherto not only unsubdued, but, in ancient times, themselves the conquerors of Asia; and, with loud and insulting reproaches from the opposite shore, at once derided and defied the Macedonians. They invited the attack, and, relying on their numerous cavalry that lined the shore and covered all the adjacent country, they dared

* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. ult.

them to cross the river and attempt their subjugation; calling on Alexander by name, and desiring that he would forbear to enroll the Scythians among his new subjects, or consider *them* as of the same dastardly and effeminate character with the nations inhabiting the Southern Asia.

Irritated to the last degree by these invectives, Alexander having, in twenty days, by the labour of the whole army, completed the Sogdian Alexandria, prepared to cross the river on the kind of floats used at the Oxus. The skins, stuffed as before, with light materials, being expeditiously prepared, the army once more embarked, to the sound of trumpets, on those buoyant machines; and, at the instant of their embarkation, a torrent of darts and other missile weapons, hurled from the engines, was poured against the foe, who, having formed no conception of the jaculatory strength of those engines, and seeing many of their comrades wounded by them, retired in confusion and dismay to some little distance from the shore. The archers and slingers, also, who advanced in the first line, so incessantly galled them with showers of stones and arrows, as greatly to check the vigour of their attack upon the phalanx that came next, and the other troops who brought up the rear. By this means, a landing was effected without any serious loss on the part of the Macedonians, and the forces, forming in close order as they arrived, presented a formidable front to the retreating Scythians. Their principal strength consisted in their numerous and excellent cavalry; and, unfortunately, the first division dispatched against them by Alexander was so far inferior in that respect, that they were quickly surrounded, and would have been cut to pieces, had not the king immediately ordered the whole body of his horse, with all the light-armed troops and the archers, to advance upon them. He himself, at the head of one half of that body, fell on them in flank, while the other half, commanded by Balaorus, attacked them in

front; by which skilful manœuvre the surrounded bands were again at liberty to act, and the enemy, still fighting with undaunted courage, were vigorously assailed on every quarter. In this situation, the contest of barbarian with veteran and disciplined troops, however violent, could not be lasting; and accordingly, after having a thousand Scythians slain on the spot, and among them Satraces, their general, the remainder sought their safety in that rapid flight for which their excellent horses were so well calculated. The Macedonians pursued; but, such was the celerity of the retreating foe, that, after suffering severely from the excessive heat and from ardent thirst, (for it was now the height of summer,) they were compelled to return in possession of only one hundred and fifty prisoners. A thousand also of the Macedonians, according to Curtius, were, on this occasion, wounded; and sixty horse and one hundred foot were slain: a number far greater than is recorded to have fallen in the battle of the Granicus*. The boast of the Scythians, therefore, of superior fortitude and experience in war to the inhabitants of Southern Asia was not entirely without foundation; and Alexander, after this fatal day, seemed to have no inclination for prolonging the war with them, at least for the present.

I do not mean to accompany Alexander farther through the Northern Asia, though there still remains a vast field to be beaten by the general historian and the geographer. I have attended him thus far principally to give consistency to the character of this indefatigable hero, with which I commenced the narration of his astonishing exploits in Asia, and, with some farther remarks on which, I shall conclude the history of his Indian campaign.

During Alexander's abode, or rather migration, in these remote northern regions, there arrived at his camp ambassadors from various

* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 4, and Curtius, lib. vii. cap. 9.

nations, attracted by his renown or compelled by motives of terror, to seek his friendship. Among these, Arrian particularly enumerates the Abian Scythians, celebrated by Homer for their inflexible love of justice and their honest poverty; and the Scythians of Europe, who were received with kindness and treated with respect. Thus, by his generosity or his valour, all the circumjacent nations being brought under the Macedonian yoke, Alexander returned to Sogdia, fully determined, in the ensuing spring, to commence his long meditated Indian expedition. Maracanda remained still besieged by the Sogdian and other forces under Spitamenes, but, on the approach of the army, that restless chief fled into Bactria, where he was afterwards massacred by his own troops*.

The lofty, craggy, and scarcely accessible fortress, denominated by classical writers Petra Oxiana, or the Rock of Oxus, whither a body of thirty thousand Sogdians had retired, with ammunition and provisions sufficient to support them for two years, and in the firm determination of defending it to the last extremity, was the next important object of this campaign. Like many similar fortresses in India, it arose from a broad base to a vast height, and had only one ascent to its summit, by a steep narrow winding path, strongly guarded at proper distances; the whole rendered still more difficult of approach by the deep snow and ice, (for the winter was now far advanced,) which had incrusted its surface. The Barbarians, from the eminences, insultingly told Alexander that he must not expect to take that fortress without *winged soldiers*, which so irritated him, that he offered a reward of no less than twelve talents to the first man who should gain the summit of the rock, and in proportion to others; appointing three hundred picked men, among those most accustomed to scale walls, to that arduous and hazardous

* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 17.

service. After immense toil and the destruction of great numbers, who, in the attempt, were precipitated down the abrupt cliffs, by means of iron pins, used by the army in pitching their tents, forcibly driven into the sides of the rock, and of ropes fastened to them, by which they elevated and supported each other, the greater part of this daring band, in the dead of the night, reached the top; and, at the break of day, displayed to their delighted comrades the promised signals of success. Alexander immediately summoned the garrison to surrender, shewing them aloft the *winged soldiers*, who had conquered every difficulty of both art and nature. The astonished garrison, ignorant of their numbers and the slender arms they possessed, while their imagination, through terror, greatly magnified both, immediately surrendered to the shouting foe; and Oxyartes, the governor of Bactria, and many grandees of that province, were taken prisoners. But the greatest prize that fell into the victor's hands, on this occasion, was the beautiful Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, whom Alexander, deeply smitten with her transcendent charms, afterwards exalted to be the partner of his throne.

Before Christ, 328.

We must pass over, as not sufficiently illustrative of our principal subject, various military occurrences that took place in the course of the present year, the conflicts with the Dahæ, the Massagetæ, whose names yet survive in the modern Dahistan and the Indian *Getes*, or *Jauts*, and other tribes of Barbarians inhabiting the Northern Asia; the disputable adventure of the Amazonian queen, and the horrid catastrophe that befel Clytus and Calisthenes; the former the result of physical, the latter of mental, intoxication. Filled as we must be with high and just indignation at these repeated outrages committed by a character, in other respects so elevated, against decency and virtue, let us still in candor consider the jarring and contradictory accounts delivered down to posterity concerning these disgraceful events and the causes that led to them; the turbulent

spirit of the factious Greeks; the insolence of the veteran soldier; the arrogance of the unbending philosopher; the spirit of competition that pervades a camp, and of jealousies that distract a court. Let it be remembered, that, in requiring the ceremony of prostration in salutation, however abhorrent it might be, from Grecian customs and prejudices, Alexander demanded no more than the peformance of an ancient civil custom, a reverential distinction which the kings of Persia had always enjoyed, as the presumed vicegerents of deity, equally the dispensers of its benevolence and its vengeance; impregnated with a portion of the sacred fire that came down from heaven, and was constantly carried before them in the camp and in the temple. It might have been attended with danger to have, on a sudden, dispensed with a homage thus immemorially paid to them; a homage which the law prescribed and religion sanctioned. I am far from meaning to become an apologist for the vices of Alexander, but so obscurely and confusedly have many of the leading events in his life been handed down to us by varying biographers, that, where there is room for the mitigation of error in a distinguished personage of antiquity, it is consistent with benevolence and justice to attempt it.

The spring, so impatiently expected, of that auspicious year which was to add India to the conquests of Alexander, at length began to dawn. A seasonable supply of sixteen thousand fresh recruits from Greece had also recently arrived; and the king had previously ordered a body of thirty thousand young men, of the first families, the most brave, the most comely, and in the flower of their age, to be collected from every province of the Persian empire, to be trained in the Macedonian way of fighting, and to attend the army during his absence from his Persian dominions, both as hostages and soldiers. It is also asserted by Plutarch, though the circumstance is not mentioned by Arrian, that, at this period, Alexander, finding his

troops heavily encumbered with their baggage and the rich spoils they had taken in Asia, to which they seemed more cordially attached than to his favourite project of the Indian war, ordered all the royal property of that species, to an immense amount, to be brought into a large plain, and then set fire to the pile with his own hands. Afterwards he commanded the baggage and spoils of the whole army to be brought into the same plain, and, promising to compensate their loss after the Indian campaign, ordered each individual to set fire to his own, which, however reluctantly, was obeyed; since the king himself had submitted to share the lot of the meanest soldier. Curtius has asserted, probably from the same sources with Plutarch, a similar relation, only with the difference of referring the fact to a prior period, that is, during the ardour of the pursuit of Bessus*.

Thus anxiously impatient the general, and thus happily free from every incumbrance the army which he commanded, the march commenced for India with the first dawn of the infant year. Before Christ, 327.
Leaving Bactria, Alexander returned to the Paropamisus by the same route which he had taken in his pursuit of Bessus, and again crossing that mountain, in ten days reached Alexandria, which he had with so much judgement erected as a grand depôt of arms, and for the purpose of facilitating his intended expedition. Its situation, also, on the confines of India, Persia, and Bactria, might have recommended it as a proper place for an emporium of that extended commerce which was an object ever uppermost in his mind. Having displaced the governor for misconduct, and appointed another on whom he could place the firmest confidence, he advanced by a north-east route to the Cophenes, a river that formed the boundary of the province to which Paropamisus gave its name,

* Plutarch in Vita Alexand. Curtius, lib. vi. cap. 6.

and, in D'Anville's Geography, is recognized in the *Cow*. Hence, Hephæstion and Perdiccas were sent on before with a considerable detachment, to scour the country and prepare the bridge of boats which would be necessary for the transportation of the army across the Indus. Alexander, with the main body of the army, advanced in the north-east direction towards the territories of a considerable Indian nation, called the Aspii. In his progress thither, he passed two other rivers, the Choë and Euaspla, and subdued the petty tribes that inhabited their banks. In the vigorous opposition of the Aspii, he had a specimen of the formidable resistance which he was afterwards to meet with from their countrymen beyond the Indus; for, this brave people, setting fire to their principal city, which they despaired of defending, resolutely opposed his army on the mountains and the plain, nor gave over the conflict till their general was slain, and forty thousand men lay dead on the field of battle*. After this hard-fought contest, Alexander marched through the territories of the Guræi, who, terrified at the fate of the Aspii, readily submitted. He here found great difficulty in crossing the river of the same name, which was very rapid and dangerous; and is, in fact, the modern *Attock*, a word which implies *forbidden;* for, the great Indian law-giver fixed this stream as the ancient boundary of the empire, and forbade it to be passed. The Guræi inhabited the country of *Gazna*, the celebrated empire formerly of Mahmud, and, in later times, of Timur Shah.

The next considerable nation, subdued on the west of the Indus, were the Assaceni, answering, in the modern geography of India, to *Ash-Nagar*. The Assaceni, finding resistance on the open plains of no effect against invaders so well disciplined in the science of war, pursued a conduct exactly the reverse of that pursued by the Aspii;

* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 25.

they entirely deserted the open country, and fled for protection within the walls of Massaga, their principal city, of which, already strongly fortified, they laboured to increase the security by additional works. Massaga was washed towards the east by a rapid river, whose precipitous banks forbade access on that quarter. It was sheltered towards the west and south by rocks of prodigious height, with deep ravines at their base, and round the eastern limits extended a fosse of great breadth. A wall of vast height and thickness surrounded the whole. On attentively viewing the fortifications, Alexander saw its reduction would be a work of great labour, and to him there seemed no more certain method of effecting it than by wholly filling up the fosse, and planting his engines of attack on the ground elevated artificially thereon to such a height as would command the town. This minutely particular account of Massaga is taken principally from Quintus Curtius*. Arrian, however, records the siege and capture of this strongly-fortified city as one of the most difficult and prolonged of any in the Indian expedition, and, on that account, I have paid more than usual attention to the relation of this writer, ever to be suspected where an opportunity for eloquent exaggeration occurs. On a nearer inspection of the fortifications for this purpose, the king was wounded in the leg by an arrow, shot from the wall, which put him to such exquisite torture that he could not avoid exclaiming, "While I am hailed as a deity and the son of Jupiter, the agony of this wound too plainly demonstrates to me that I am still but a mortal!" Notwithstanding that agony, however, he would not retire to his tent till he had given all the necessary orders for filling up the ditch with the wreck of demolished edifices that formed the suburbs, with fallen trees of great magnitude and with massy stones and dirt, collected

* Curtius, lib. vi. cap. 10.

together in great heaps, and thrown in for the purpose. That arduous task was immediately undertaken, and, by the united efforts of the troops, was accomplished in nine days, during which Alexander recovered of his wound. The king of the Assaceni was recently dead, and the queen-mother, by name Cleophes, had taken into her pay, for the better defence of the city, seven thousand stout Indians from the interior districts, (a proof, that, in those as well as in later periods, the war-tribe of India let out its services for hire,) and these seemed determined to fulfil the duty of faithful mercenaries. The besieged, astonished as they were at the new species of military engine brought against them, and that from a quarter which they conceived utterly inaccessible, yet exerted themselves vigorously in repelling the assault, and stood firm at their posts amidst the torrent of darts, arrows, and other missile weapons, hurled from the towers, which did infinite execution among them. For four successive days did Alexander ineffectually bring his engines against the walls, and, though a breach had been early made in them, yet, from the united skill and valour of the enemy, they attempted in vain to take it by storm, and the trumpets sounded more than once that retreat which was so unusual and so degrading to Macedonian soldiers. In ancient as in modern times, the death of the commander-in-chief, in Indian warfare, has ever been the forerunner of the defeat of his troops, and thus it happened at Massaga; for, while their general survived, the mercenaries were invincible; but the chief, on this occasion, being slain by an arrow, and the greater part of the troops themselves wounded or exhausted by incessant fatigue, they at length surrendered on honourable conditions; the queen herself, issuing forth from the gates, at the head of a train of noble females, all bearing golden goblets, full of wine, by way of oblation to Alexander as a god. The queen, according to Curtius, was equally beautiful and brave, and presented her infant son to

Alexander with so much attractive grace, that another son was, afterwards, the result of that meeting, who bore the name of Alexander, and became the head of the tribe of SULTANI, (so called from Sultan Escander Zul Carnein, his Asiatic appellation,) who are said, by Abul Fazil, to have flourished down to his time, and scrupulously to have preserved the genealogical records of their illustrious descent*. With respect to the resolute band of soldiers that remained after the capitulation, Alexander offered to take them into his own pay, and enroll them among the Macedonians, to which they at first readily consented; but, afterwards, reflecting how deeply dishonourable it would be for Indians to fight against Indians, they formed a secret plan to march off in a body by night to their own country. On the discovery of that plan by Alexander, they were surrounded by his army, and cut to pieces before they could effectuate their escape. Plutarch brands this act as a scandalous breach of faith in the king, but I think with great injustice; since their return must have spread a general alarm through the country, and the result might have been fatal to his views†.

Alexander, reserving to himself the main body of his army for the subjugation of the greater cities and more formidable tribes, dispatched detachments, under various commanders, for the reduction of those of inferior note. Among these were the neighbouring cities of Ora and Bazira: against the former were sent Attalus and other generals; and against the latter Cœnus: but neither of these officers was at first successful in his attack, and the king was obliged to bring succours in person before they could be reduced. Of these two, Bazira was by far the strongest and most difficult to be subdued; for it was the capital of a small district, known by situation, and the remarkable correspondence of its name, to be the modern province

* See Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Plutarch in Vit. Alexand.

of *Bijore;* a province exceedingly rugged and mountainous, and inhabited by a fierce and warlike tribe. The Bazireans, by no means intimidated at the fate of the Assaceni, defended themselves against the troops under Cœnus with obstinate bravery, rushing down from the heights on which their city stood, and demolishing the works attempted to be raised against it. As no hopes were entertained by Alexander of the speedy surrender of that city by such a martial race, and it was become necessary first to reduce Ora, into which Abissarus, a powerful Indian prince in those quarters, had thrown a considerable body of mercenary soldiers, Cœnus had orders to erect a fort opposite the gates of the city, and, leaving a strong garrison in it, for the purpose of checking the impetuous sallies of the enemy, to join himself with the remainder of his forces. Ora, which had defied Attalus, soon yielded to the superior might of Alexander. The rampart, intended to surround it, being at length finished, and escape impossible, the inhabitants were summoned to deliver up the city. On their refusal, the walls were scaled, and, the place being taken by storm, every soul within it perished. In Ora were found many elephants, which were of great use to Alexander, who was now constantly opposed in battle by that formidable train of animals. The citizens of Bazira, in the mean time, were not inactive; but, despising the small number of troops left to overawe them, made frequent excursions into the open country. In one of these excursions, they were pursued and attacked with great fury by the garrison, who killed five hundred of them, took seventy prisoners, and beat the rest back again into the city. And now Alexander himself, with the main army, bearing certain destruction to all opposers, rapidly approached. Before his arrival, however, having heard of the miserable fate of Ora, in which they read their own, if conquered, and mistrustful of the strength of the fortifications of the city against the terrible Macedonian engines of war, the Bazireans contrived to

baffle the vigilance of the garrison, and, at the dead of the night, issuing forth on the side less closely blockaded, fled to a stupendous rock adjoining, named Aornus. To the same rock, as to an impregnable bulwark, and the lofty castle erected on its almost insuperable summit, from every surrounding district already had flocked, in innumerable multitudes, all those brave Indians who yet felt the ardent throb for liberty and independence, and disdained the fetters of a new and sanguinary foe, that had spread desolation through their whole frontier.

This celebrated rock, according to the nearest calculation of modern geography, is situated about fifty-five German miles north-east from Peishore, and eighty-five from Cabul; and D'Anville has satisfactorily recognized its ancient name in the Indian appellative of *Renas*. According to Arrian, the circumference of its base is two hundred furlongs, or nearly twenty-five English miles; its altitude, where *lowest*, is eleven: but that description is indefinite, and leaves too much to the operations of imagination. Formed like the Petra Sogdiana, before described, and many others at this day used as places of secure defence by the Indian rajahs, it rose from this broad base, in a direction nearly perpendicular, to its very summit, which was a wide and fertile plain, presenting the appearance of an immense cone, and to that summit there was only one steep, rugged, winding, path, cut out by human toil. The deep and rapid Suvat, a branch of the Indus, foamed at its foot on one side, and together with the steep and craggy banks, which confined the struggling current, prohibited all attack. On the other side, deep cavities, artificially sunk, like yawning abysses, threatened to ingulph whosoever had the temerity to approach it. Near the top gushed forth a beautiful spring of the purest water, which flowed plentifully down the rock; its sides were clothed with lofty and dark woods, and as

much arable land was cultivated upon its summit as would furnish provisions for a thousand men.

Alexander, on finding Bazira deserted, immediately pursued the fugitives to Aornus, and nothing could equal his astonishment on beholding its vast elevation and great natural strength, except the ardour of his resolve to become the master of it. Besides, every secret spring of glory and emulation was awakened afresh in his soul on the contemplation of that renowned fortress; for, either tradition, or Greek adulation, had circulated a report, that Hercules, on his invasion of India, was baffled in every attempt to make himself master of this rock. This story may possibly have been founded on some military exploits carried on in these regions by Rostam, the Persian, or Rama, the Indian, Hercules, during the conquests that rendered them so famous in their respective countries. Fired with the hope of succeeding where Hercules himself had failed, Alexander was determined to take Aornus, or perish before it. He, therefore, ordered the most active preparations to be immediately commenced for a regular siege; but, knowing that these and the siege itself would take up much time, he, in the interim, employed that part of the army, which was not thus engaged, in more permanently securing the countries which he had left behind, as well as in adding to his conquests a city in those parts, called Ecbolina, which capitulated without much opposition. The preparations for the attack upon Aornus being completed, and the cavities that rendered it inaccessible on one side being filled up, in the same manner as the fosse of Massaga, by felling the timber of an adjacent forest, he selected thirty young men, the bravest and most alert among those who formed his body-guard, as leaders of the determined band, which had orders to make the first attempt at scaling the rock. The king seemed to his officers so ardent in the affair, that they

united their requests that he would not engage personally in an attack, which would, probably, be attended with inevitable destruction to the first assailants. The instant, however, the trumpets sounded, as a signal for that attack, Alexander flew like lightning to the spot, and, bidding his valiant guards follow their sovereign's steps, began laboriously to climb the rock. The whole army, animated by his example, in a transport of enthusiasm, encouraging one another with shouts and songs, pressed eagerly forward to the steep ascent, and every instrument used in escalade was diligently employed to facilitate their progress. That diligence, however, was, in the first instance, utterly fruitless; for, the besieged rolled down upon them, from above, stones of a vast magnitude, rendered irresistible by the velocity of their descent, which bore them violently back again, and, while some fell, dreadfully bruised and mangled, to the ground, others were precipitated into the Suvat, where they were ingulphed. This novel mode of fighting, added to this resolute opposition, struck no dismay into the mind of Alexander, nor annihilated the hopes he had formed of finally reducing Aornus. Deriving only additional vigour from the increase of danger, the army redoubled its efforts to ascend the rock; but, from its steepness and the smoothness of its surface, they could gain no firm hold nor footing; while the hardness of its substance resisted, like adamant, the edge of the tools with which they in vain endeavoured to pierce its sides and fix the scaling-ladders. Still, however, they undauntedly persevered. Again and again baffled, they as repeatedly renewed their attacks; but Alexander, seeing no prospect of success by open assault, and being filled with commiseration for the brave men, who were perishing in multitudes around him, at length ordered a retreat to be sounded. A close and prolonged blockade might be productive of famine among the innumerable throng who had shut themselves up in the

castle of Aornus; and famine would do the work of destruction more rapidly than all the warlike engines of Alexander.

That blockade, therefore, for which ample preparations had been already made, now commenced with vigour. The former lines of investment were contracted, the ramparts strengthened, the wooden towers advanced close to the rock, and on them other works were constructed, which brought them still nearer the besieged. While these things were going on, an old man, who had long passed the life of a hermit, in a cavern of the rock, came to Alexander, and offered, for a considerable reward, to guide a small band of soldiers, by a secret path, to the plain on the summit, where they might conceal themselves in the wood that grew there till they could be reinforced by others. The terms demanded were immediately agreed to, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, with a detachment of light-armed soldiers was sent with him, receiving orders, when they should reach the summit, strongly to intrench themselves in that wood, and display on high a burning torch, as the signal of their success. With immense toil and hazard, Ptolemy successfully reached the top, displayed the signal, and intrenched himself till the treacherous Indian conducted others to the same spot. These carried the farther command of Alexander to Ptolemy, that the following day, when he should again storm the rock by the ordinary path of ascent, the troops with him should rush with fury on the rear of the astonished enemy. The command was punctually obeyed; but so great was the number of the enemy and so ardent their courage, that, though they saw themselves betrayed, and attacked at once both in front and rear, they manifested neither confusion nor terror, but vigorously repelled the attack of each party, again driving the Macedonians, who engaged them from below, down the rugged precipices, and compelling Ptolemy to retreat for security to his intrenchment, which

was constructed with too much military skill to be easily forced by barbarian prowess. Thus victorious, the besieged made the rock resound with acclamations of triumph, and mingled the scoff of derision with the extravagancies of mirth. Alexander, equally enraged and surprised at this two-fold discomfiture, determined to advance his works still higher up the rock, cutting down more trees, filling up more interstices, and erecting, of earth and stone, an enormous counter-agger, whose height he intended should, in time, rival that of Aornus. In the mean time, the Indians affected to behold these uncommon efforts of a great general with contempt, and continued for two days and nights their Bacchanalian revels. On the third night, the noise of the cymbals ceased, and the rock appeared, through its whole extent, illuminated with torches, which the king observing, instantly conjectured the enemy were attempting an escape from the rock; and, as more than enough of Macedonian blood had been shed at Aornus, he felt no inclination to obstruct their purpose. On the contrary, he withdrew his forces from the blockaded avenues, that they might have a free passage; but, in revenge of their obstinacy and insults, the instant they had descended, he directed his forces to pursue the fugitives, and cut to pieces as many as they could overtake. Alexander now took possession of the deserted rock; offered magnificent sacrifices upon it, and erected altars to Minerva and Victory. He then placed a strong garrison in it, and consigned the charge of that important station to Sisicottus, an Indian chief, on whose attachment and fidelity he knew he might depend. The above account of the siege and capture of Aornus is what we find in Arrian and Curtius, whose relations, in this as in many other cases, are not easily to be reconciled; but as the latter probably composed his work from materials to which Arrian might not have access, however guilty he may be of frequent

exaggeration, his florid narration is not wholly undeserving of attention*.

After the capture of Aornus, Alexander marched, in a north-east direction, to Pucela, or Peucelaotis, the capital of a province, known in Indian geography, as detailed in the Ayeen Akbery, by the name of *Puhkely*, to which the Greek term Πευκελαωτις corresponds as nearly as the idiom of the two languages would admit of. The province is situated among the western sources of the Indus, and the city itself is washed by the main stream of the Sinde. Hither, as was before observed, Hephæstion and Perdiccas had been dispatched, on the commencement of the march from Paropamisus, to provide a bridge of boats, and make other preparations for crossing the Indus at this point. Here he found those generals engaged in the siege of this capital, which had employed their whole force, during thirty days; but, on the king's arrival, it surrendered; and the princes of the country, which had not yet submitted, now hastened to pay their homage to Alexander, and be enrolled among his allies and friends. Among these, the earliest and the most distinguished for riches and power, was Taxiles, sovereign of the whole country extending between the Sinde and the Hydaspes, who not only brought from beyond the Sinde very handsome presents in money, elephants, and provision, but was also actively serviceable in promoting and securing the future conquests of Alexander.

The bridge of boats was already prepared; but this being not deemed the properest point for the easy and secure transportation of the forces, Alexander sent forward the heavy-armed troops and the gross of the army to a place on the Sinde, sixteen days march distant below that position. At this place the mountainous range of

* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 30, and Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 11.

country terminated, and the level plain of the Panjab commenced, so much better adapted to the purpose of crossing on a bridge of boats than where the stream flowed turbulent on a rapid descent*. With the light-armed troops he himself marched back into the territories of the Assaceni, where he was informed the brother of the late king had revolted, and, with a great body of barbarians, had fled to the mountains. Alexander, however, anxious to penetrate into the interior of India, did not think proper to pursue him to this retreat; and employed his troops, with the assistance of the natives, in catching the elephants which abound in that province, and are taken by the natives with singular dexterity, for the purpose of acting against the numerous train of those animals, which he expected would be opposed to him by the princes reigning beyond the eastern shore of the Indus. It seems to have been during this second expedition to the Assaceni and Cophenes, or Cow-River, which bounded their territories on the west, that Alexander paid his memorable visit to the city of Nysa, denominated Dionysopolis, in Ptolemy, from the tradition of its having been founded by Dionysius, or Bacchus, in his invasion of India, and known, in Sanscreet, by the resembling appellation of *Naishada*†. Concerning that invasion, and the curious fragment of both Indian and Greek history that regards Nysa, as well as its supposed founder, and the adjacent mountain Meros, (the *Meru*, or north-pole, of the Brahmins,) the reader has already, in the former part of this work, been presented with very circumstantial details, and every thing added in this place would be tautology, except that, on taking possession of the city and the mountain, the triumphant host resigned itself, for six days together, to the transports of impetuous joy and the extravagance of Bacchanalian

* See Rennel's Memoir, p. 121. † Sir William Jones in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 259.

revels*. After this imprudent, and, in fact, scarcely credible, relaxation in a hostile country, Alexander, induced either by curiosity or vanity to navigate the Indus, returned to that river, and, finding near its banks a thick wood, ordered sufficient timber to be cut down for the construction of rafts, to carry down himself and the troops with him to that more convenient point of transportation where Hephæstion and Perdiccas had prepared the bridge of boats, and whither the main body of the army had marched some time before from Peucelaotis. On their safe arrival there, the embarkation took place; and, so excellently had every previous measure been arranged, the transportation of the whole army was effected, equally without loss and without opposition.

May. Before Christ, 327.

In the Indian Antiquities, whatever concerns the geography of this part of India, as well as most things that have relation to the religion and the singular manners and customs of this ancient and secluded race, have been extensively discussed. The narration, therefore, of the farther progress of Alexander into the interior of India, will flow on uninterruptedly, except in those cases where information, more recently obtained, may render occasional addition necessary.

The great river, properly called the Indus, is formed, according to the most accurate geographer of India, of ten principal streams descending from the Persian and Tartarian mountains, of which Alexander had previously crossed the Cophenes, the Choaspes, and the other branches on the west of the Sinde. Five more, rushing down on the eastern side of the Sinde, and giving to that country the name of *Panjab*, were yet to be crossed ere he could complete the original intention of reaching the distant Ganges. They were to be crossed too at a season when the periodical rains, already

* Arrian, lib. v. cap. 2. Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 10.

commenced in the northern mountains, had swollen them to an uncommon magnitude, and greatly increased their rapidity. The Sinde, as we are informed from Sanscreet authority, in its early course was anciently called NILAB, or the *Blue River*, from the dark hue of its waters; and this native appellation, added to the crocodiles and the Egyptian beans that grew on its banks, will, in some degree, account for the strange mistake of Alexander, that he had discovered the sources of the Nile in this region of Northern India. Indian traditions mention, also, a city of the same name, situated near the present Attock, which a variety of circumstances combines to prove must have stood on or near the scite of the ancient Taxila, and to have been the point at which Alexander effected the transportation of his army; because the same geographer observes, "this appears to have been, in all ages, the pass on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India*;" which induced the politic Akber, in after-ages, to build, on this spot, the castle of Attock, commanding that passage.

The total number of forces which this first invader, from so remote a western clime, landed on the eastern banks of the Indus, is stated by Curtius to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men†; a statement which must be supposed to include the thirty thousand Persian youths whom he had caused to be trained up in the Macedonian discipline, and constantly carried with him in his army, partly to serve as hostages and partly to act as soldiers. On the safe debarkation of the troops on the opposite shore, Alexander's first care, as usual, was to offer solemn sacrifices to the gods; after which he exhibited gymnastic sports, according to the ancient custom of the Greeks. The importance of the friendship of his new

* Rennel's Memoir, p. 92.

† Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 4.

ally, Taxiles, (called Omphis by Curtius, with the addition of a story not confirmed by any thing in Arrian,) now became evident; for, he not only refreshed his army during thirty days in his rich and flourishing capital of Taxila, but experienced from his liberality a repetition of such presents as would be most useful to him in passing the probably hostile countries beyond the Hydaspes. He also personally joined his army with a body of seven hundred horse and five thousand foot, besides thirty elephants; and to this step he was induced not less by the friendship which he had conceived for Alexander, than the rooted antipathy which he is said to have harboured against two rival princes, his neighbours, named by the Greeks Abissares and Porus, whose dominions lay beyond the river that bounded his dominion eastward. Abissares, however, by far the weakest of the two, hastened to make his peace with his now formidable enemy, while Alexander yet abode at Taxila, and his submission was benignantly received; the ambassadors sent by him being treated with respect, and the presents transmitted honoured with the return of others. Another chieftain, also, named by the Greeks Doxareas, and said to have reigned in these districts, made submissive tenders to Alexander, and added considerable presents to purchase his favour and protection. But Porus, or as, on Sanscreet authority, we should more correctly denominate him, PAURAVA, sovereign of the region beyond the Hydaspes, resolutely refused tamely to yield up to a foreign invader the independance of his warlike nation and the throne of his illustrious progenitors. To the heralds sent to demand the payment of tribute, in proof of his obedience, and that he would meet the Macedonian conqueror on the confines of his dominion, the high-minded monarch exclaimed, "that he acknowledged no victor, and would transmit no tribute; that, indeed, he would meet Alexander on his frontier, but that it should not be as a suppliant or as a vassal; it should be in arms,—in arms,

the most proper mode of deciding the rights of contending kings*!"

Alexander, rather delighted at the spirit than alarmed by the menace of this reply, lost no time in accepting the challenge of the Indian monarch. Having, therefore, placed a Macedonian garrison in the castle of Taxila, and appointed Philip to be the governor of it, he moved forwards towards the Hydaspes, in Sanscreet called *Bedusta*, and, in the modern geography of India, the *Chelum;* being the first of the five rivers that give name to the province. Cœnus, one of the generals most in his favour, had been previously commissioned to transport, on carriages, the vessels, of which the bridge of boats had been composed, from the Indus to the Hydaspes; those vessels having been so contrived as easily to be taken to pieces; the smaller vessels in two parts, and those of thirty oars in three. The space between Taxila and that river, a distance of one hundred and twenty English miles, was passed with a celerity proportioned to the impatience of the Macedonian hero to combat a prince, the conquest of whom, he conceived, would secure to him the uncontrolled dominion of the Indian empire; and, on his arrival at its banks, the formidable appearance of Porus, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, strengthened with a vast train of elephants of uncommon magnitude, that lined the shore to a great extent, was well calculated to justify that conception. The fact, however, is, and every retrospect on either the Classical or Sanscreet History of India tends to establish it, that, at this æra, a system, very much resembling the feudal government of ancient Europe, prevailed over the whole region of India; that it contained a number of petty kingdoms governed by distinct sovereigns, independent of each other, but, by the constitution of the government, subordinate to the

* Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 13.

supreme Maha-Raja, whose residence was either at Canouge or Palibothra, *(Patna,)* on the Ganges. Ferishta's Indian History, indeed, of this period, records Poor, or Foor, to be of the imperial dynasty of Delhi, in consonance with our former supposition that Hindostan was anciently divided into two great empires, situated on or near the two great rivers that wash their country, the Indus and the Ganges; but, from the entire silence of the Greeks on the subject of so celebrated a capital, affirmed, too, to have been built by the father of this very Foor, and the occurrence of no name in the least resembling Delhi or any of its ancient synonyms, the statement of the Persian historian is probably unfounded. The reigning monarch on the Ganges, we are now certain, was CHANDRAGUPTA, the *Sandra-Cottus*, or *Cotta*, of the Greeks, to whom Megasthenes was afterwards sent ambassador by Seleucus, and who, as we have seen above, had daringly usurped the throne after the murder of the pious Rajah Nanda. It is unfortunate that more ample materials have not hitherto arrived from India for composing the domestic history of this period, in defect of which we are compelled to return to the farther consideration of what has descended to us from classical writers concerning this invasion of the Panjab by Alexander.

According to them, the proper dominion of Porus extended no farther than the district confined by the Hydaspes on the western, and by the Acesines on the eastern, quarter. Strabo represents it as extensive, opulent, and containing nearly three hundred cities*; but many of these reported cities were probably mere villages, since the whole extent of the tract, thus described, does not exceed, according to modern admeasurement, forty miles in width and a hundred and fifty in length. The Hydaspes, or Chelum, is stated to

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 663.

have been four furlongs, or nearly half an English mile, in width; proportionably deep, and exceedingly turbid and impetuous, from the same cause that rendered the main stream of the Indus so dangerous to the army,—the floods, occasioned equally by the rains and the melted snows, rushing down from the mountains in still more accumulated torrents; for, it was now the height of the summer solstice. It was in no place fordable; and, added to this, the white surges, that every where broke furiously upon its ruffled surface, proved that the river rolled on a bed of rock and massy stones; threatening those who should attempt to cross it, in barks of such slight fabric as those used at the Indus, with inevitable destruction. From this formidable foe, the Macedonians turned their eyes to another still more menacing, an army of thirty thousand foot, seven thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants, drawn up in dreadful array of battle, resolved resolutely to dispute their landing, should they be able to effect a safe passage over that rapid stream. This army, too, was by no means composed of men enervated and spiritless, like their Persian foes; they were a hardy and fearless race, tall in stature, and of a robust make; a race, trained from their infancy to war under an intrepid monarch. A train of selected elephants, of the largest size, sumptuously arrayed in all the gorgeous trappings of Eastern magnificence, in appearance like so many lofty towers, stood ranged along the banks, prepared with their ponderous feet either to trample down the assailing host, or dash them to pieces with their enormous probosces. Porus himself, mounted on the most majestic of those animals, and as well in stature as in valour and wisdom exceeding the subjects he commanded, shone above all, conspicuous by the glittering of his golden armour and the chains of precious stones suspended from his neck, or sparkling in the plumes of his tiara.

The stake on either side was great, and the efforts of the con-

tending princes were proportionate to its magnitude. In fortitude and ardour of glory they were equal: in military talents Porus was inferior; but it was only to Alexander. The former trusted for success to heroic *valour* and physical *strength;* the latter plainly perceived, that, in this instance, at least, he could conquer only by judicious *manœuvre.*

The two armies, thus arranged in view of each other on the opposite shores of the Hydaspes, had full leisure to weigh and determine on the plans of attack and defence which they meant respectively to pursue. An attempt to pass a river so impetuous, and effect a landing on a shore so steep and so well defended, in open day, seemed to Alexander a hopeless task. It was only under the cover of night, and in the confusion attendant on darkness, that such an attempt was at all likely to prove successful; at the same time the king's great experience in the art of war, added to the desire of preserving the lives of soldiers, so valuable and so necessary to his future views, in a country where every rood of ground would probably be disputed, taught him that the place of his encampment was not the exact spot from which it should be made. But though not proper for the *real* attempt, a *feigned* effort might be made there with advantage, to cover and assist other efforts made elsewhere. Fortunately for the accomplishment of this latter design, about one hundred and fifty stadia, or nineteen miles, below that part of the river where the channel takes a mighty sweep, there projected from the shore a rocky promontory, overgrown with wood; and, in a line with this promontory, in the middle of the river, stood an uninhabited island, also thickly interspersed with trees, in whose deep umbrage the army, after landing, might lie concealed from the view of the enemy. Having accurately surveyed this spot and formed his resolution, Alexander returned to his camp. And now, in execution of his concerted scheme, night after night, the trumpets were sounded,

and the shouts, as of cavalry attempting to ford the river in the face of the enemy, were every where heard, and not only kept the enemy in a perpetual state of alarm and suspense, but exhausted them by incessant vigils. Porus perceiving, at length, that these were only feints intended to deceive and harass him, ceased to pay any particular attention to these nightly alarms; yet still he relaxed not from the general vigilance which should pervade a well-ordered camp. The Indian monarch being, by this stratagem, lulled into a kind of partial security, Alexander proceeded to the accomplishment of his project. He selected, for the purpose, a strong body of cavalry, in which he knew the inferiority of his enemy, together with the foreign mercenaries and some light-armed battalions, best calculated to act with the celerity and vigour requisite on this occasion. Craterus was left on the spot in command of the remaining cavalry, the Macedonian phalanx and the Indian auxiliaries under Taxiles, with orders to continue at night the usual noises, but not to move till he himself, by engaging the enemy on the opposite shore, had drawn off the elephants that lined it, in which case, the cavalry and the whole remainder of the army were immediately, and at every hazard, to force the passage.

Alexander having taken these precautions, and ordered the imperial tent, conspicuous from its loftiness and splendor, to remain standing, surrounded with his guards, as if he himself were still present, marched off, at the dusk of eve, by a circuitous route at some distance from the bank, to the rocky eminence in question. When arrived at about nine miles, or half the distance from the camp to the rock, he stationed there Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias, with the foreign mercenaries, ordering them the instant, that, on the following morning, they observed the hostile armies on the opposite side in motion, they should embark in the vessels, which, silently gliding under cover of the night, had attended their progress down

the stream, and join him. The king himself, with the troops accompanying him, having arrived safely at the rock, lost no time in crossing over to the island on rafts and vessels, which had been previously brought to the rock, and put together in its concealing woods. While they were thus employed, there fell a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, with torrents of rain, sufficient to terrify and obstruct the progress of any soldiers but those of Alexander. Those determined warriors, so far from being dismayed by the conflicting elements, heard with joy the dreadful solstitial thunders which concealed from the ears of the enemy the rattling of their armour and the dashing of the oars. Alexander himself, with Ptolemy, Perdiccas, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and others, his most experienced generals and beloved friends, braved the storm in a vessel of thirty banks of oars, and landed in safety on the island just as the day which was to decide the fate of Porus began to dawn; at which period the roar of the thunder ceased and the tempestuous sky became suddenly serene. The island was rapidly traversed by the army, and the vessels, coming round to the opposite side, again received the troops, and landed them in the face of the advanced guard of Porus, which instantly galloped off at full speed to acquaint the Indian sovereign of the approach of the enemy in that unexpected quarter. As the corps of infantry successively arrived, and the horse landed out of the boats in which they had been ferried over, on the eastern shore of the Hydaspes, Alexander, who, still foremost in every station of more imminent danger, had first ascended the bank, in person attended to form the debarking troops, and draw them up in order of battle. When the whole number, amounting to six thousand foot and five thousand horse, was completely landed, he placed himself at their head, and marched forward in quest of the foe. It unfortunately happened, however, and was speedily discovered, that they had, from their ignorance of the

country, disembarked on a part of the shore, so separated by a deep stream formed by the violence of the floods from the main land, that it appeared like another island. So high had risen the waters which filled it, they had the utmost difficulty in finding any place fordable either for the cavalry or infantry. At length, however, they waded through it; the former, with the water reaching up to the necks of their horses; the latter, buried breast-high in the waves. Again formed in order of battle, and with equal celerity by the king himself, as the troops successively ascended the bank, the horse, with Alexander at their head, pressed on with rapidity to meet the foe; the foot being ordered to follow them leisurely, that their strength might not be exhausted before they could get into action; an action, which, from every appearance, would be, in an extreme degree, obstinate and bloody.

In the mean time, the advanced guard of the enemy, arriving at the camp of Porus, spread the alarm of Alexander's attempt to pass the river near their post; but the cautious Indian monarch, either not believing their report or considering this as one of those ingenious feints by which he had been so often imposed upon, contented himself with sending his son, at the head of two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to prevent his landing. On approaching that part of the river, the young prince was not a little astonished to find a landing already effected, and a considerable detachment of the Macedonian army advancing to give him battle; for, Alexander retained the main body of the horse with him for the greater and more decisive contest which he saw must soon take place between himself and Porus, and he repressed their ardour to engage, in order to give the infantry time to join him. To this line of conduct he was induced by the supposition that Porus, with his whole army, was following close in the rear of his son's detachment; but being undeceived in that respect by the

parties sent out to reconnoitre, he determined to strike terror by an act of necessary rigour; and, rushing with his whole force upon the unsupported foe, cut the greater part of them to pieces; while the whole of the chariots, unable to proceed through the swampy ground, inundated by the torrents of rain that had fallen in the night, became the easy spoil of the victor. The troops, that escaped the undistinguishing slaughter of that day, fled back to the Hydaspes, and bore to the unhappy monarch the disastrous tidings of his routed forces, and of his son slain while bravely fighting at the head of his detachment.

Porus, who, during the whole of Alexander's absence from his camp, had been unusually harassed with the clamorous din of the Macedonians and pretended preparations for passing the river, was for some time in the deepest perplexity, whether he should wait the threatening or seek the advancing foe. His magnanimity and valour led him to prefer the latter of these alternatives; and, therefore, leaving on the spot a certain proportion of his elephants and his army, to awe and keep in check the Macedonians on the opposite shore, he immediately led from their encampment an army consisting of thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants, to dispute the palm of glory with the conqueror of Darius. "The mighty Foor," says Ferishta, "issued from Sirhind, with an army numerous as the locusts, against the great Secunder*." That this vast host, especially the elephants and the chariots, might act without obstruction, a wide and even plain, with a surface of firm sand, was judiciously sought for, and fortunately found. Here the intrepid Indian drew up his army in the following order: The elephants were ranged in the front of all, at the distance of one hundred feet from each other, forming a line of vast

* Ferishta's Indian History, vol. i. p. 180.

extent, and terrible to behold! Behind this presumed impregnable bulwark were placed the numerous battalions of infantry, that, when the goaded elephants had commenced the work of havoc and destruction, the former might rush impetuously on, and complete the dreadful tragedy. Such were the maxims of Indian warfare, which, in ancient times, placed its principal dependance on the number and vigour of this species of animal brought into the field. The horse he divided into two bodies, which he constituted the wings of his army; before which he placed the chariots, most probably themselves armed with scythes and other offensive weapons, but certainly crowded with those who were dexterous in the use of the bow and skilled in hurling the javelin.

The Indian order of battle was scarcely thus completely arranged, when Alexander, at the head of his cavalry, arrived in sight. As it was in horse that he was by far superior to Porus, he was determined that they should bear the chief burthen of the action. His infantry was not yet come up, and he had full leisure, therefore, as well to reconnoitre the ground as to examine every point of the position taken by the enemy, who confided principally on the order of battle which he had adopted, and who seemed to await the attack in all that dreadful serenity, which, in the physical world, often precedes the most violent tempests. The infantry, which had pressed on with uncommon eagerness, that they might share in the glory of this memorable day, at length arrived; and, it being necessary that they should take some rest and refreshment before they could engage in fight, Alexander so completely surrounded them with his horse, as to shield them from any danger of attack, which, however, seemed the last thing the enemy had in contemplation. That portion of the army having recovered from its fatigue, he formed of it his centre, heading himself the right wing, and appointing Cœnus to the command of the left, both consisting of cavalry. The Macedonian

horses, though during their engagements with Darius not wholly estranged to elephants, yet never approached that animal without reluctance and terror, and as it was upon this part of his army, and his knowledge of this circumstance, that Porus principally relied for success, Alexander determined to avoid them altogether; and, while Cœnus with his division wheeled round to attack the enemy's right wing, the king fell furiously upon their left; having previously ordered Seleucus, with the foot, to remain stationary 'till he saw that confusion in the army of the enemy which his measures were calculated to produce. The Indian horse, accustomed as they were to conquer on Indian plains, for a long time resisted valiantly the superior numbers and impetuous attack of the Macedonian; but, being overcome at length by the masterly manœuvres and correct discipline of their assailants, were driven from their station; and, by that means, left the infantry, whose flank they had covered, exposed to their fury. While, therefore, they were thus assailed in flank and rear by Alexander and Cœnus, the Macedonian infantry advanced with rapidity, and, with their long pikes and lances, attacked both the elephants and their drivers; at the same time that the equestrian archers, in number a thousand, whom Alexander had purposely selected to attend this expedition, overwhelmed those who fought in the chariots, as well as the horses that drew them, with showers of arrows and javelins.* The enraged elephants, almost frantic with the pain they endured, rushed forwards on the Macedonians with irresistible impetuosity, breaking through the embodied phalanx, and trampling multitudes to death. The Indian horse, observing this check given to the enemy's infantry by the elephants, quickly rallied again, and made repeated and vigorous attacks upon Alexander and Cœnus: but those commanders, having now united their formidable squadrons, repulsed them with great slaughter, and compelled them to seek protection

among the elephants, which, after all, proved very little; for, the drivers of those animals being for the most part slain, and themselves covered with wounds, carried havoc and destruction with undistinguishing fury through every part of the field, and proved equally fatal to friends as foes. The Indian horse and infantry, therefore, whom they were principally intended to shield, being crowded together in a confined compass around them, suffered more severely from *them* than from the Macedonians themselves. The latter, less straitened for room, every where opened their ranks to let them pass, and escaped the danger. As to those of that unwieldy tribe that were more mischievously furious, and still remained on the field, the Greeks, at the risk of their lives, approaching them with axes, clove asunder the sinews of their legs; and, with long and sharp instruments, curved like scythes, which they had prepared beforehand, cut off their trunks, and thus rendered impotent their savage ferocity.

The Indians, though surrounded by perils from every quarter, on one side trodden down by the elephants and on the other slaughtered by the Macedonians, yet disdained to yield to inferior numbers the palm of victory, and, for a long time, fought, especially the horse, with all that heroic bravery which distinguished their countrymen at Arbela, when the Indian cavalry pierced through the centre of Alexander's line, and plundered the Macedonian baggage: Amidst this mutual and eager contest for glory, Craterus, attentive to the orders of the king to pass the river, when he should see him engaged with Porus, with little obstruction effected a landing on the eastern shore of the Hydaspes at the head of the remainder of the army, which, impatient for action and unexhausted by fatigue, hurried to the field of battle, and, falling on the Indians, embarrassed by their situation and weakened by their exertions, completed the rout which had already partially began. The tumult and

confusion that now took place cannot be conceived or described :— the wounded elephants, without riders, raging through the field, and spreading dismay and death wherever they came; horses and men rolled over each other on the bloody plain, and struggling in the agonies of death; the crash of chariots, the shouts of the victor, and the shrieks of the expiring. Those, that had an opportunity, sought safety in precipitate flight, but by far the greater part of that vast army was cut to pieces; the numbers killed that day, on the side of Porus, amounting, according to Arrian, to near twenty thousand infantry and three thousand horse; with the loss of all the chariots and elephants! The loss on the side of Alexander was very low in proportion, but still higher than in any battle with Darius, being eighty of the infantry and two hundred and thirty of the cavalry*. Diodorus, with greater probability, states that loss to have been seven hundred infantry: in the number of cavalry slain he agrees with our author†.

With respect to the Indian monarch himself, he was conspicuously seen, during the whole of the engagement, mounted on an elephant of uncommon magnitude and courage, issuing orders to his generals with the utmost coolness, and exposing himself, with the most daring intrepidity, in whatever quarter the rage of battle was most violent. Foiled in one part of the field, Porus and the veteran bands that ever attended and guarded his person, renewed the contest with fiercer fury in another. While a troop could be kept together, or a battalion rallied, Porus was at the head of that troop and of that battalion. Majestic in person and on a majestic animal, he was the admiration of every eye, and, at the same time, the object of every hostile dart. But his coat of mail was of excellent fabrication, and of a texture so firm, that the arrow and the javelin

* Arrian, lib. v. cap. 18.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 469.

fell equally shattered to the ground. At length a dart, from some unknown hand, struck him on the only part where his armour could be penetrated, the compages that thinly guarded the right shoulder; and the wounded monarch, anxiously looking round, and observing himself, of all his mighty host, almost the only survivor amidst a waste of death, ordered the driver of his elephant to conduct him from the fatal field, strewed with his most beloved friends and subjects. Alexander, extremely solicitous to preserve the life of so brave a man, dispatched Taxiles after him, ordering him to use every argument to induce him to surrender himself; assuring him of such a reception from his conqueror as a valiant man and a great prince merited. On the approach, however, of Taxiles, his ancient foe, the indignant monarch launched a javelin which had nearly transfixed him; calling him aloud a traitor to his country and a pusillanimous deserter of the rights of kings. Undiscouraged by this rude repulse, Alexander immediately sent other messengers to recall the flying prince, and, among others, Meroë, his bosom-friend, who at length succeeded in effecting his return. Having thus determined to submit himself to the generosity of Alexander, he caused his elephant to be stopped; and, the docile animal kneeling down, he was assisted to descend from it by his attendants, and had the wound, which proved not to be dangerous, dressed. He then suffered himself to be conducted by Meroë towards the tent of Alexander. On his approaching the royal pavillion, Alexander, with his friends, advanced to meet him, and pausing, as he drew nearer him, was forcibly impressed with the grandeur and nobleness of his appearance; for, he was five cubits, or above seven foot, in height, yet exactly proportioned, and of a majestic, yet pleasing, countenance. The relation of what passed at this conference would fill a very interesting page of history, but I have no room for the detail; and having now exhibited Alexander triumphant over his most powerful

Indian foe, though by no means, as is generally understood, the supreme sovereign of India, I find myself compelled to hasten to the conclusion of a work, which has already exceeded every prudent limit. The result was, that Alexander, equally won by his talents and his valour, ever afterwards numbered Porus among his intimate friends, and not only honourably replaced him on the throne of his ancestors, but added many extensive provinces to his former empire. Alexander, after this, performed magnificent obsequies to the manes of those brave men who had perished in the engagement; offered the most costly sacrifices to the gods; and solemnized the athletic and equestrian games usual among the Greeks, on the banks of the Hydaspes. In memory, also, of this important victory, the king erected two cities, one on the spot where the battle was fought, which he thence called NICÆA; the other on the scite of his camp on the western bank of the Hydaspes, where his favourite horse Bucephalus, which he had broke in, when a youth, at the hazard of his life, which had attended him in all his campaigns, and shared every danger with his affectionate master, died, according to Arrian, at the advanced age of nearly thirty years*. But this must certainly be a mistake; for, at that rate of computation, Bucephalus would have been a year older than Alexander himself, who is said to have broken him in, when nobody else could accomplish the arduous task, at the age of sixteen years; and it is not credible that a horse, for which Philip, as Plutarch informs us, paid thirteen talents, (or 2500*l.* sterling,) could be worth that sum when the prime of his youth was so long past†. The age of Bucephalus, however, even according to this mode of calculation, must have been considerable, and his memory was intended to be perpetuated in the name of *Bucephala*, conferred on the city built on the spot where

* Arrian, lib. v. cap. 18.

† Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

his death took place. Modern geography enumerates no city near that spot at all corresponding to either of these Greek appellatives.

After staying a short time to refresh his army in the kingdom of Porus, Alexander marched, with a considerable part of his army, into the adjacent territory of the Glausæ, situated north-east of that kingdom; and in this march we find a striking proof of the astonishing wealth and population of India, when undisturbed by foreign invasion, and its inhabitants are left to be cherished and protected by their own mild laws and the liberal spirit of their native princes; for, those territories are said by Arrian to have contained thirty-seven large cities, many of them having ten thousand inhabitants, with a vast number of villages, proportionably populous. These were taken possession of without the least resistance from the peaceable inhabitants; (for, how should a race, absorbed in agriculture and commerce, cope with the armed veterans of Greece?) and the sovereignty of the whole region conferred on Porus. Abissares, also, king of a northern tribe of mountaineers, called in the language of modern India *Gehkers*, or Kakares*, an ally of Porus, sent ambassadors, offering ample presents of elephants and money, and the unconditional surrender of his kingdom. The king, perhaps mistrustful of his real intentions, commanded that Abissares should attend him in person, or he should pay him a visit in his native mountains. On the mountains in the neighbourhood of the Hydaspes were lofty woods, which Alexander ordered to be cut down, and, of the timber, a great number of vessels to be formed, with which it was his intention, on his return, to sail down the Indus into the ocean. The Assaceni, having again revolted, Philip was dispatched to reduce them, and Craterus being appointed to super-

* Rennel's Memoir, p. 93.

intend the erection of the two cities which he had ordered to be built, as well as the fleet preparing, Alexander advanced to the Acesines, or modern *Jenaub*, the next river of the Panjab. Before he commenced his march, however, he took an opportunity of reconciling to each other the princes Taxiles and Porus; granting the former permission to return to his hereditary domain, and giving the latter the most solemn pledges of lasting friendship.

Broad, turbulent, and rapid, as was the Hydaspes, the Acesines is represented to have exceeded that river in all these points; its breadth being fifteen furlongs, or nearly two miles; whereas that of the Hydaspes was only four furlongs, or about half a mile over; and its surface, in particular, being wrought into such violent agitation by the numerous and prominent rocks which every where choaked up the channel, that the waters of it seemed to boil, and threaten immediately to ingulph whomsoever a fatal temerity might lead to attempt the passage. But the Macedonian army, which had already triumphantly crossed so many rivers and mountains, disdained to have its progress impeded by the terrific appearance of the Acesines, and, partly on the vessels brought from the Hydaspes and partly on skins stuffed as before, were ferried over the formidable stream. Many of the vessels, however, struck against the prominent rocks in the river, and were dashed to pieces; but the floats, formed of lighter materials, rebounded uninjured, and deposited their burthen safely on the opposite shore. Of the country on the eastern side of the Acesines, a second Porus is said to have been the sovereign. This Porus, too, was at enmity with the first conquered of that name; and, led by his antipathy to that Porus, had, previously to the battle of Nicæa, sent ambassadors with the offer of his kingdom, and a voluntary surrender of his army, to subjugate his rival. The moment, however, he learned that Alexander had obtained a signal victory over his antagonist, had admitted him to his friendship,

had again placed the crown upon his head, and had greatly increased his power for offensive operation, by the addition of a large adjoining territory, the wary, but dastardly, Indian, conceiving himself doomed to be the victim, fled from his dominions, at the head of all the brave young men capable of bearing arms, whose business it should have been, and whose inclination it probably was, to defend them against an invader. In the eager pursuit of him, Alexander arrived on the banks of the Hydraotes, or modern Rauvee, the third river of the Panjab; and, having hence dispatched Hephæstion and Cœnus completely to scour and reduce the whole country, he also added to the kingdom of his friend Porus these dominions of his ungenerous enemy.

The passage of the Hydraotes, or Rauvee, is not mentioned by Arrian as having been attended with any peculiar circumstances of danger or difficulty; and it is Major Rennel's opinion, confirmed by many strong local considerations, that Alexander crossed this river " near the place where the city of Lahore now stands*." Arrived on its eastern banks, he found a most formidable enemy prepared to dispute his farther progress through the Panjab, in three great confederated tribes, the Cathæi, the Malli, and the Oxydracæ, concerning whom it is necessary to state some particulars supplied by the laborious diligence of the respectable geographer just cited. By the Cathæi, or Catheri, as Diodorus writes the word, he contends is meant the *Kattri*, or war-tribe of India, a supposition which their martial character justifies. Their capital of Sangala he places in a direction south-west of Lahore, at the distance of a three days' march, and consequently so far out of the direct line of Alexander's route to the Ganges. This south-western progress of the army led the Macedonians near the confines of the province of Multan, and

* Memoir, p. 93.

therefore the Malli must necessarily mean the people of Multan, or Malli-sthan, the region of the Malli. The district of *Outch* is not far distant, and the Greeks, fond of softening the Indian words by any resembling term expressive of the physical appearance of the people, called these people Oxydracæ, from their *sharp sightedness**. Against these three tribes of warlike Indians, whose union of numbers and courage rendered them, in a high degree, formidable, Alexander thought it prudent to lead the concentrated force of a Grecian army.

These people, Arrian informs us, had already resisted, on a former occasion, the combined armies of Porus and Abissares, and the city of Sangala, to which they had now retired, was strong by nature, and rendered still stronger by all the skill in fortification known to a barbarous people. It seems to have been situated on one of those eminences, though not of the loftiest kind, with which this part of Asia abounds, and on the summit of which the Indians delight to erect their laboured forts. An extensive lake secured it from assault on one quarter, and on all others it was defended by high walls, flanked with strong bastions. Before the gates of this city, the three great tribes above-mentioned, combining their strength against the common foe, had encamped, and intrenched themselves within the centre of a range of carriages, strongly fastened together, and drawn round them, as an impregnable rampart, in three circular lines of considerable depth. Mounting on the carriages that formed the outermost of these lines, they perpetually darted thence their missive weapons, and, with their unerring javelins, struck with death all that came within a certain distance. As the city lay immediately behind them, it was their intention, if unsuccessful in this mode of defensive combat, to retreat within its walls, and defend it to the last

* Sir W. Jones in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 2.

extremity; all which circumstances prove the proud spirit and obstinate valour of these northern Indians, when their independence and every thing dear to freemen were attacked by unprovoked aggression. Alexander, however, was greatly irritated by this appearance of determined opposition, which threw such immediate obstruction in the way of his project of advancing to the Ganges, and, taking a near view of both their intrenched lines and their fortified city, saw that the reduction of these tribes would occasion him a considerable loss of time as well as of men. To delay, however, the attack, was only to give new strength and courage to the enemy; he, therefore, immediately, with his whole force, attacked the first line of their intrenchment, which, though very bravely defended by the Indians, was too weak to resist the fury of the Macedonian phalanx; who, rushing forward through a storm of darts, drove away the defenders, and broke to pieces the carriages. The second line was constructed with greater skill, was stronger, deeper, and still more valiantly defended. It was carried, however, after the loss of a great many lives on both sides, and preparations were making for attacking the innermost, when the enemy, justly dreading the event, deserted their camp, and retired within the walls of their capital. Alexander immediately began to invest the city with his troops, but found he had not a body of foot sufficient with him completely to surround the vast extent of its walls; and, therefore, made his cavalry, on this occasion, do the duty of infantry: at the same time he advanced his works close to the ramparts and to the very edge of the lake. On the borders of that lake he stationed also large parties of horse, to prevent every possibility of escape by the enemy, on whom he meditated a severer punishment than their brave opposition merited. Sensible of the hazard of delay to his future schemes of aggrandizement and glory, the king now hurried on the siege with unremitting vigour;

the battering engines shook the walls above, and the miners sapped their foundations below. Alarmed at length by these violent and terrific movements, and seeing the utter impossibility of maintaining an equal contest with troops so well disciplined in the science of war, the Cathæans and their allies began to think of securing their present safety by flight; trusting, if that could be effected, that they should be able, by other modes of offensive operation, to harass his troops and retard his farther progress on Indian ground. The lake that partly environed their city was, in some places, fordable; by this way, therefore, they hoped to effect their escape into the adjacent country; and, in consequence, at the dead of night, throwing open the gates in that quarter, the whole body of the besieged attempted to force a passage through the surrounding enemy. This they would in all probability have effected, had only the ordinary guard been on duty there; but Alexander, having cause to suspect their intention, had that very evening strengthened the force on that station by a numerous squadron of horse, giving orders to Ptolemy Lagós, who commanded that squadron, that, the instant any such attempt should be made, all the trumpets should sound to arms, when he himself, with the whole army not immediately occupied in the defence of the lines, would repair to the spot. Alexander had given orders that additional redoubts should be thrown upon the side nearest the lake, and that the roads should be blocked up by the carriages taken from the enemy in the late engagement, laid across them, to obstruct the progress of those who might escape the vigilance of the troops. These orders were all punctually executed, and the fugitive troops found that they had no sooner escaped the danger of being ingulphed in the lake, than they were surrounded by great bodies of cavalry, to whom resistance was unavailing, and who slaughtered them without mercy. The first ranks being thus unexpectedly cut off, and the

whole army, roused by the clangor of the trumpets, being in motion to oppose their flight, the rest hurried precipitately back into the city, resolved either by one desperate effort to raise the siege or sell their lives in this last extremity as dear as possible. Each party now, returning to the contest, fought with redoubled fury; but the miners, being at length successful in sapping the walls, a breach was made in them, through which the Macedonians poured with an impetuosity that bore down all opposition. Others, applying the scaling-ladders, mounted the wall in places where no breach was effected, on which and the bastions a desperate conflict was for a long time sustained; but perseverance on the part of the besiegers rendered them finally triumphant. The works being thus carried by storm, and the city in possession of the Greeks, a dreadful and undistinguishing massacre commenced, and Sangala was deluged with the blood of its unfortunate citizens. When about seventeen thousand Indians were put to death, Alexander ordered the slaughter to cease, and the rest, to the enormous amount of seventy thousand, who had pressed into that city, were taken prisoners, together with a vast booty, including three hundred chariots of war and five hundred horse. The loss of the Macedonians, killed at this important siege, was comparatively small, not exceeding one hundred men; but the number of wounded was greater than on any former occasion, for Arrian states it at twelve hundred, among whom were Lysimachus and other commanders of the first distinction for talents and valour*.

* Arrian, lib. v. cap. 25. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 1. But Curtius gives a very confused and imperfect account of this affair, and mentions not even the name of the city, for which, notwithstanding the marked circumstances of the hill and the lake, no particular scite is assigned in the Modern Geography of India, nor has any corresponding name been found in the Sanscreet Vocabulary.

Sangala thus reduced, Alexander was in hopes that the terror of their punishment would induce the inhabitants of all the adjacent cities to submit, and dispatched Eumenes, with three hundred horse, to inform them of its fate, and to demand the surrender of themselves and their cities. But Eumenes found those cities a desert; the inhabitants of that whole district, who had already learned the fate of Sangala, under the impulse of terror and dismay, having precipitately fled, and concealed themselves in the forests and mountains. Alexander, fearful of a new hydra erecting its head in that region, immediately ordered numerous squadrons of cavalry to scour the country in every direction, and himself also joined warmly in the pursuit: many were overtaken and slain, but they were principally those whose age or infirmities had retarded their flight; the rest escaped: and the king, returning to Sangala, rased it to the foundations, lest it should a second time prove a harbour for his enemies. The other cities, reduced in this excursion, as well as the entire region subjugated between the Hydraotes and Hyphasis, he gave to Porus and those tribes of Indians who had voluntarily joined his standard, and then marched back to the point on the Hyphasis, at which he intended to cross that fourth river of the Panjab. Arrian does not notice, but Curtius particularly mentions, as resident in this quarter of India, a nation, remarkable for the superior beauty of their persons, to which great attention was, by the order of the state, paid in their infancy: but not only for their corporeal qualifications are they praised by this writer, he bestows equal commendation on the sublime wisdom of their legislative code and the unsullied purity of their morals. They were governed by a king, named Sophites, who, on Alexander's approach to his capital, had ordered the gates to be closed, and not a soul to appear on the walls, either to repel or to invite the enemy. The Macedonians, in consequence, concluded that this also was a city that had been

deserted by the terrified inhabitants, and were advancing to take possession of it, when, to their great astonishment, the gates were suddenly thrown wide open, and discovered Sophites himself, who, in comeliness, exceeded all his subjects, accompanied by two beautiful youths, his sons, and a long train of nobles, coming forth in procession to meet the victor, and lay at his feet the royal insignia, formed of the purest gold, and glittering with a profusion of diamonds. The description of the ornaments that decorated this prince is elaborately eloquent, but, what is more to the purpose, it is also correct, and exactly corresponds with the habits worn by the great rajahs of the present day. A long embroidered vest of a purple ground, interwoven with gold, enfolded his elegant form, and descended gracefully down to his feet; but not so as to conceal his sandals, which were of a rich gold brocade, sprinkled with pearls and rubies. He was splendidly adorned with rich necklaces and bracelets of various coloured stones. Two pendant jewels, of uncommon magnitude, and of the purest water, glittered in his ears. His sceptre, of wrought gold, was studded with beryls; and this, with the other insignia, he submissively presented to Alexander; at the same time earnestly soliciting his royal protection for himself, his children, and his subjects*. Alexander received this courteous prince with great benignity, returned to him the insignia of royalty, and, after visiting his capital and refreshing his army there, pursued his march to the Hyphasis. On his way thither, he was met by another prince, whose country bordered on its banks, and whom Diodorus distinguishes by the appellation of Phegeus, but whom Curtius, generally his copyist, terms Phegelas†. The subjects of this prince would willingly have flown to arms, but Phegelas forbade them, and, commanding them peaceably to return to their agri-

* Curtius, book ix. cap. 1. † Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii. p. 563. Curtius, in loco citat.

cultural pursuits, set off to meet and appease Alexander with magnificent presents. Alexander, who was anxious to leave no enemy behind him unsubdued by arms or kindness, received him with the same affability he had shewn to Sophites, abode two days in his territories, and, on the third, prepared to cross the river. The name of this river, the fourth of the Panjab, was doubtless formed by the Greeks from *Beypassa,* its ancient Sanscreet appellative in the geography of the Ayeen Akbery. The modern name of *Beyah* is probably also a contraction of the Sanscreet term. It was not less broad and violent than the Hydraotes, nor the channel less rocky and interrupted. Before he attempted the passage, Alexander inquired anxiously of Phegelas concerning the distance between his present position and the Ganges, and the military strength and population of the nations who inhabited the banks of that river. In answer to these inquiries, he was informed, that, when he had crossed the Hyphasis, his direct line of march lay through a dreary desert of eleven days journey, at the end of which he would reach the river in question; a river, the broadest and deepest in India, and to which all those he had already passed might be considered as rivulets; that its eastern banks were inhabited by two numerous and warlike nations, denominated, from the situation of the one and the capital of the other, Gangarides and Prasii, whose king, by the Greeks called Agrammes, was prepared to meet him on the frontiers of his dominion, with an army far more numerous than any he had yet encountered. The soul of Alexander was fired with this intelligence; every moment seemed lost till he had passed the bounds of that inhospitable desert; till he had braved the billows of that mighty river; till he should be able to bring to action that formidable enemy; and erect the triumphant banners of Macedon on the shore of the ocean that formed the eastern boundary of Asia.

While he was meditating the full accomplishment of these designs, and preparing to lead his harassed soldiers to new hardships, the whole camp was filled with seditious murmurings, and remonstrated with one voice against engaging deeper in projects of so hazardous and precarious an issue. Reduced in their numbers by frequent and long-fought battles, covered with honourable wounds, and crowned, as they imagined, with sufficient glory, they demanded to be led back into their native country, to share that repose which their long services required, and to spend the remainder of life in the enjoyment of the fortunes which they had so dearly earned. In Porus they had already found a formidable and resolute enemy; and a report was spread generally throughout the camp, that, beyond the Ganges, a river reported to be a hundred fathoms deep and four miles in breadth*, the kings of the Gangarides and Prasians had assembled an army of eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, two thousand armed chariots, and three thousand fighting elephants†. However exaggerated this account might have been, it filled the bravest among them with dismay; they supposed themselves conducting to slaughter rather than to victory, and many of them loudly exclaimed, that they would not submit to be sacrificed to gratify the boundless ambition of their commander.

Alexander, who was totally absorbed in his darling project of reaching the Ganges, and thence pressing on to the farthest limits of Asia, on hearing the rumour of these murmurings, was filled with inexpressible anguish, mingled with rage and indignation, to which he dared not, at this momentous crisis, give vent. He was convinced, however, that there was no time for hesitation. With that decisive vigour which always characterized the actions of this great

* Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

† Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 2.

prince, he immediately ordered a general assembly of the army to be summoned, and, by the most affable and condescending behaviour, endeavoured to allay the ferment, to tranquillize their minds, and win them over to his purpose. His august presence at once awed them to respectful silence, and his assumed benignity revived all their affection for him; but still they were inflexible in their purpose of not proceeding beyond the Hyphasis. In a speech of great subtilty and varied eloquence, he touched every chord of passion that strongly vibrates on the human heart. He aimed principally to work upon that high sense of honour which the Greeks ever cherished both individually and nationally; to wake in their minds the dormant spark of expiring ambition; to provoke the emulation of generous youth, and stimulate the avarice of frozen age. He strove, by recounting all their past glories, to animate them to attempt the acquisition of still nobler and more substantial renown; to exceed the boasted exploits of Hercules and Bacchus; and reach the limits of the habitable world. He painted, in the most glowing colours, the immense magnitude of the spoil that awaited them beyond the Ganges; kingdoms overflowing with wealth, the accumulated wealth of ages, the concentrated treasures of Asia. He ridiculed the idea of the innumerable force in infantry, in cavalry, and elephants, which the Gangaridæ could bring into the field, and with the magnified details of which their enemies aimed to terrify them and arrest their progress. "Have you forgotten," exclaimed this prince, "the still greater armies of Darius; the uncounted multitudes who perished, oppressed by their own numbers, at Issus and in the defiles of Cilicia; and the myriads, in vain opposed to Macedonian valour, on the plains of Arbela? Are the Gangaridæ a braver or hardier race than those whom you conquered on the Bactrian hills; those who drenched with blood the Sogdian plains; or those who, in terror of your vengeance, precipitated themselves

down the rocky steeps of Aornus? Can the number of elephants, however great, alarm Grecian soldiers, after the recent proof, exhibited in the battle with Porus, of their utter inutility in the field, or, rather, of the certain destruction, of which they may be made the terrible instruments, against their own party? Does the broad, the deep, the rapid, Ganges fill you with dismay? Have you not, then, in your progress hither, crossed the unfathomable deep itself? Or, is it less safe to pass a wide and majestic river, flowing on with an even, though rapid, course, than an impetuous current, confined by steep banks within a narrow channel, like the Hydaspes; or foaming along, over a rocky bed, like the Acesines? Will you desert a general who has shared all your toils, and braved with you every danger, in the full career of glory; or, rather, when our triumphant warfare is nearly accomplished; for, we already verge on the Eastern Ocean, and have nearly reached the point whence the sun pours its first beam on the illumined earth? Behold your prince, who could command your obedience, condescends humbly to solicit your concurrence with his ardent wishes; and conjures you, by every thing sacred, that you will not rend the palm from him in the moment of victory; nor suffer the laurel, to whose lustre you have so largely contributed, to be tarnished by an untimely and disgraceful retreat!"—After pausing some moments, and observing both officers and men to remain entirely silent, with their eyes stedfastly fixed on the ground, and absorbed in profound melancholy, Alexander again exclaimed, " Where is that burst of applause that formerly used to follow the addresses of your sovereign? Where is that loyal zeal for my safety, that unbounded attachment to my person, which led you to contend for the distinction of bearing my wounded body from the field? Where, at this important moment, are the spirit, the ardour, of Macedonian soldiers? Return, ungenerous men! to the inglorious pursuits of peace basely purchased by the sacrifice of

your prince. For, know, that thus far advanced towards the goal, I will not relinquish the dazzling prize. I will march on at the head of the more faithful Scythian and Bactrian forces in my train, and lead them triumphantly over the rivers which you dread, and against the armies and elephants which fill you with so much horror. Those despised barbarians shall hereafter be the braver comrades of Alexander. Return, ungenerous men! and tell astonished, tell indignant, Greece, that you have left your king surrounded with dangers, and in the midst of his enemies."

The soldiery were deeply agitated by this address, and felt the keenness of these reproaches; yet they were so exhausted with recent fatigue, they were so impatient to return to their beloved native soil, and were so terrified by the exaggerated accounts of the Ganges and Gangaridæ, that it was far from having the effect intended. The whole assembly, therefore, still observed that profound silence which is so much more expressive than any words. Even the veteran officers of highest distinction and most in favour with Alexander, though entirely agreeing in opinion with the great body of the army, deterred by the dreadful fate of Clytus and Calisthenes, who had atoned for their unrestrained freedom of speech, with their lives, for a long time refrained from expressing the sentiments of their hearts. The venerable Cœnus, at length, respectfully rising in the midst of the assembly, addressed Alexander in substance as follows:—"It is with extreme reluctance, O king! that I rise to return an answer not consonant to the wish of your address, because I am one of those favoured officers most devoted to your service, and who have shared most largely of your munificence. At my advanced age, men are indifferent to life; I plead not for myself, but for the army in general, whose united voice I am bound, by honour, faithfully to declare. Of the numerous forces that originally marched from Macedon on the Asiatic expedition, very few indeed remain

with us; fewer still of those, who, like myself, passed the vigour of youth in the service of Philip, your illustrious father! Broken down with incessant fatigue, or utterly disabled by wounds, how many reluctantly repose their weary limbs far from their native country, their relatives and friends, in the numerous cities thou hast erected to secure thy conquests; how many have been cut off by disease and pestilence in these eastern climes; how many perished amidst the snows of Paropamisus; how many feed the famished vulture on the plains of Bactria, glut the tigers of Hyrcanian deserts, or, ingulphed in the great rivers of Asia, have become the prey of the voracious alligator! Behold, Alexander, in the course of this long and arduous campaign, every head grown bald and every face furrowed with wrinkles and scars! Are these miserable remains of what *were* Macedonians,—of what *were* the pride and flower of Greece,—are these fit persons to explore new worlds beyond the Ganges, or roll the thunder of battle round the distant shores of the Eastern Ocean? When the Thessalian auxiliaries were wearied with the length of the campaign, they were permitted to return from Bactria, laden with spoils and costly presents, into their own country; but we, thy more faithful Macedonians, are only reserved for severer toils and renewed slaughter. The desire in their minds to revisit their native country is ardent, is insuperable; indulge, Alexander, their just claims, and once more lead these grateful and enraptured subjects back to Greece, which loudly demands thy presence, to allay the intestine divisions that distract it. There shall these aged veterans find repose from their toils, and peaceably enjoy the rewards of many a hard-fought day, while a new race, risen since our departure, in the vigour of their youth, and with all the zeal of their fathers, shall eagerly crowd around thy standard, and burn to follow thee to the remotest regions of the earth, against the Indians beyond the Ganges; the Scythians, who tenant the borders of the Euxine; the undaunted

progeny of Carthage; or the untamed savages of the Lybian deserts. At present, thou art at the pinnacle of human glory, and terrible at the head of a brave, though reduced, army. But who can say what dreadful reverses the Fates may ordain for thee among the Gangetic Indians? Remember, prince, that moderation in prosperity is a virtue, above all others, transcendently bright and eminent; and that vicissitude is the inevitable doom of mortality*."

The other generals afterwards joined in the representations of Cœnus, and the whole army confirmed the truth of them by renewed sighs and murmurs. Alexander, more irritated than convinced by all the arguments used to persuade him to retreat, abruptly broke up the assembly, and retired into his tent, where he shut himself up for three days in sullen reserve; refusing to see even his most intimate friends. He did this, as well to avoid farther solicitation, as in hopes, that, seeing him so fixed in his determination, the army might be induced to recede from their own. At the end of that period he again appeared in public, but found the troops still obstinately bent not to proceed, and the general murmur greatly increased. Matters were now growing too serious for Alexander longer to persist in his rash resolve. He disdained, however, the appearance of a forced compliance with the wishes of his army; and, therefore, ordered sacrifices to be offered for their safe passage and future progress. But the omens being represented by Aristander (probably at his own instigation) as utterly inauspicious, the king affected to pay that submission to the decrees of the gods which he refused to yield to the remonstrances of man. Upon the professed ground of Heaven being inimical to his farther progress, he issued orders for the return of the army, which were no sooner proclaimed, than the sky was rent with the loudest acclamations of joy; the

* Arrian, lib. v. cap. 27. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 3.

whole army rushing in a transport of affectionate gratitude to the royal pavilion, and calling down blessings without number and without bound on the head of their relenting sovereign.

Having thus fixed the Hyphasis (its eastern bank, according to Pliny) as the extreme limit of his progress, Alexander ordered twelve magnificent altars of hewn stone, fifty cubits in height*, to be erected on the spot, to the twelve greater deities of Greece, and consecrated them as lasting monuments of his labours and expedition. Plutarch informs us, that these altars remained standing in his time, and that the Indians from beyond the Ganges used to come and sacrifice upon them†; (to their native deities, we must presume, in memory of their deliverance from the terrible scourge of an army that had desolated the rest of Asia.) We are informed by Curtius, that, previous to his return, he caused the lines of intrenchment around his camp to be extended to three times their usual circuit, ordered beds of a vast size to be prepared, as for soldiers of gigantic stature, and mangers and bits of bridles of proportionate magnitude for horses, to be deposited there, with a view of imposing on posterity the belief that he had invaded India with an army above the common standard of men‡. Arrian, however, is silent in respect to this puerile effort of deception, so unworthy of Alexander, and it is probably not fact. The erection of these altars took place, it should appear, below the conflux of the Beyah with the Zaradrus, or *Suttuluz*, the last of the five rivers of the Panjab, because modern geography confirms the truth of the statement made to Alexander, that there actually exists a *desert* between the lower parts of the latter river and the Ganges. Its name of Bey-Passa, whence the Greek Hyphasis was formed, is indeed lost, below the conflux intimated, in that of

* It is Diodorus Siculus who is thus particular in regard to their altitude, lib. xvii. p. 563.

† Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

‡ Curtius, in loco supra citat.

Shetooder; but the natural aspect of a country is a far better criterion for decision in these matters than the fluctuating names of rivers, of which how abundant and how varied are those of the Panjab may be known from the laboured enumeration of them by a RECENT WRITER, whose indefatigable industry and whose profound erudition, exerted on a barren, but important, subject of Eastern inquiry, will excite admiration when perhaps those rivers shall cease to flow*. On this ground of argument, Major Rennel conjectures their position might have been between Ardone and *Debalpour*, the Dædalla of Ptolemy. After the above solemn and decisive testimony from the page of Grecian history, that Alexander advanced no farther eastward than the Hyphasis, it would be an useless expenditure of my own and my readers' time, to examine the details of Oriental writers, (although sanctioned by a solitary passage in Justin†,) respecting the conquest, by Secander, of the remotest eastern regions of Asia, thus realizing his own ambitious dreams, and enumerating the immense presents which were paid as the price of peace by Keid, the potent sovereign of ulterior India, and by Kha-Khan, an unheard-of emperor of China, in bars of gold, in rich silks, in costly furs, in bags of musk, and in aromatic woods‡. If the SHAH NAMEH and SKANDER NAMEH contain nothing on this subject more consonant to pro-

* I cannot omit this opportunity of acknowledging my private as well as public obligations, during the progress of my two Works, now rapidly approaching to completion, to the respectable author of The Voyage of Nearchus; and I most cordially join with another celebrated, but *unknown*, writer of the day, to whom also I am under the deepest obligation for well-meant, but, I fear, ill-merited, applause, in opinion that "it is impossible to name such another work as DR. VINCENT'S, with all the learned illustrations, produced under the labour and constant pressure of so important an occupation as the conduct of a great public school."—*Shade of Pope*, p. 74, second edition.

† Justin positively asserts that the Gangaridæ were among the nations conquered by the Macedonians. Lib. xii. cap. 8.

‡ See Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 105.

bability than such accounts as these in Mirkhond, it were better, for the cause of genuine historic truth, that they should remain for ever untranslated. Had such events really taken place, it would have been impossible for the vanity of Alexander, and the Greeks who accompanied him, to have concealed them; or of historians, like Curtius, to have blazoned them with all the pomp of declamation and all the splendor of panegyric.

The unbounded joy resulting from the gratification of their wishes, that pervaded the whole army, gave to the retrogressive march through the Panjab the air of a triumphal procession, as for a world already subdued. Every eye sparkled with hope, and every heart beat with transport, at the thought of revisiting their dear country, kindred, and friends. Returning, therefore, with all the celerity with which an army, so encumbered with spoil, *could* move, they soon reached the Hydraotes; and, passing it as rapidly as its obstructed current would permit, arrived at the Acesines, the current of which, though still impetuous, from the torrents rushing from the mountains and the incessant rains, ceased to appear formidable*. Here, finding the city, which he had ordered Hephæstion to erect on its banks, completed, he invited the friendly inhabitants of the adjacent districts

* In another valuable work of Arrian, he acquaints us, that Alexander having pitched his camp on the banks of this river, he was afterwards compelled, by the inundations, which were widely diffused over all the circumjacent level territory, to break it up, and remove to a great distance higher in the country: all which proves the innumerable obstacles with which the Macedonians had to contend during this their *summer* campaign in the Panjab. The periodical rains are known to begin in May and end in October: now it was in May that he first crossed the Hydaspes, and it was the 23d of October, according to Dr. Vincent's most accurate investigation, when he again embarked on that river for the ocean. Thus Alexander remained in the field during the whole period of their continuance. Timur and Nadir Shah acted more wisely, by carrying on in that country a *winter* campaign. The former entered Delhi in triumph on the 4th of January, 1399; the latter fought the battle of Carnaul, not remote from that capital, on the 15th of February, 1739.

to take up their residence in it; and he farther contributed to its population, by permitting such of the foreign mercenaries in his army as were unable or unwilling to proceed, to make it their future abode. Hither, also, Abissares, king of the barbarous tribes of mountaineers, excusing his personal attendance by the plea of illness, a second time sent ambassadors, bearing presents and the tribute recently imposed by Alexander, who was pacified by his obedience; but, not yet wholly free from suspicion, to overawe that Indian, joined Arsaces with him in the government of those northern districts. About this period the brave and veteran Cœnus paid the debt of nature; and Alexander, though sincerely afflicted at the death of so valuable an officer, could not avoid sarcastically remarking, that he had made a speech disproportionably long for the few days of his remaining life. Having again offered sacrifices on the banks of the Acesines, he recrossed that river, and pressed on to the Hydaspes, where he found the fleet which he had ordered to be built with the timber cut down in the noble forests in its neighbourhood, which Strabo expressly says abounded with fir, with pine, and cedar*, in a state of great forwardness, he commenced the most active preparations for accomplishing his grand project of sailing down the Indus into the ocean. While these were vigorously going on, he received a seasonable supply of fresh troops, consisting of six thousand Thracian horse, headed by Memnon, and seven thousand foot, which Harpalus had sent him under the command of that general. Such expedition was used by the artificers, chiefly Phœnician and Carian Greeks, appointed to get ready this exploring fleet, that, in a few days, a navy, amounting in number to eighty triremes and near two thousand vessels of smaller burthen, was launched on the Hydaspes.

As we have advanced with Alexander through the progress of

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvi. p. 654.

this arduous campaign, a variety of circumstances has successively occurred, that unanswerably confirm whatever arguments may have been previously urged concerning the grandeur and extent of his views, and demonstrate, that, though the geographical knowledge which this great conqueror had of Asia was incorrect, yet that he meant to have reached its most distant limits on the north and east. The obstinate opposition which he met with from the hardy Scythians checked his progress towards the Hyrcanian, or Caspian, Sea, which he idly supposed constituted its northern boundary; and the seditious murmurs of the soldiers prevented (at least according to the Greeks) his reaching the ocean eastward. His design of sailing down the Indus into the southern main was formed before he had penetrated into the Panjab, and in the apparent certainty of his being able to accomplish the latter object, though, for the present, foiled in executing the former. He intended, probably, that this vast river, rolling from the centre of the Higher Asia, should waft its wealth to its southern extremity, and, by the confining ocean, to Egypt itself; while a vigorous commerce, flourishing along the whole line of its extent, should cement a firm bond of interest and amity between the various nations who inhabited the regions near its source and those who cultivated its banks. The navigation of the Indus and the Persian Gulph is only a counterpart of the voyage down the Nile and round the coast of Egypt, where, to promote the same object, he laid the foundations of that great and opulent city, which, for eighteen centuries, excited the admiration and concentrated the commerce of that world of which Alexander's aspiring mind had planned the total subjugation. The king himself had already announced, and the papers found after his decease, among other still more important projects, confirmed, his future intention of sailing from the Persian Gulph, and coasting round Africa to the pillars

of Hercules. His anxious wish was to leave no enemy behind sufficiently powerful to interrupt that amity and impede that commerce. With these introductory observations, from necessity summary, the voyage down the Indus, and the perpetual conflicts with the nations on its banks and those on the desert shores of Gedrosia, will be rendered at once more interesting and intelligible.

Every thing being at length ready, and the protection of the gods having previously been implored, by oblations more than usually magnificent, on the 23d of October, at break of day, Alexander, with a considerable part of his army, consisting of the archers, Agrians, the light-armed infantry, and some cavalry, went on board. Taking his station conspicuously on the prow of his ship, the king then poured out libations from a golden goblet, and solemnly invocated the three great rivers, the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and the Sinde, down whose streams he was successively to descend to the ocean: Hercules, also, and Jupiter Hammon, he endeavoured to render propitious by renewed sacrifice. Immediately after, all the trumpets sounding, which was the appointed signal, the fleet unmoored, and, under the guidance of those experienced mariners who assisted in its fabrication, glided leisurely and majestically down the tranquillized current*. Imagination can scarcely conceive a grander or more picturesque scene than was now presented to the view of the natives, who anxiously flocked to the river-side in immense multitudes, and beheld with astonishment the number and magnitude of the vessels; while the sound of martial music, the clash of arms, the dashing of the oars, and the acclamations of the rowers, reverberated at intervals from the lofty overhanging shores on each side, contributed highly

* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 4. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 4. According to the latter of these authors, the embarkation took place at the Acesines; but Arrian's is the more connected and probable account, and that is what I have adopted in the text.

to increase the splendor and variety of this interesting scene. That part of the army, not on board with Alexander, had marched some days before, in two divisions, along the banks on each side of the Hydaspes;—the one consisting of a considerable body of horse and foot, under the command of Craterus, occupied that on the right; the other, under Hephæstion, and comprising the major part of the army, paraded on the left. Over the whole fleet Nearchus presided as admiral, and Onesicritus commanded the royal galley.

The respectable author, mentioned above, with such deserved applause, having so recently gone over this scene of Alexander's exploits in India, there is the less occasion for my entering with minuteness into this portion of the Indian campaign; except, indeed, such parts as more particularly concern his excursions from the river into the country adjacent to it. Upon these, Dr. Vincent has but lightly touched, confining himself more generally to the avowed object of his learned discussion,—the navigation of the fleet. I shall, however, omit no circumstance of importance; nor, though straitened for room, aim to be concise at the expense of perspicuity.

On the third day after the embarkation, the fleet arrived at the point where Craterus and Hephæstion had received previous orders to encamp on each side of the river, and at this point both fleet and army waited two days for the arrival of Philip, governor of the provinces on the west of the Indus. On the arrival of his detachment, Alexander immediately ordered him to march with that division of the army to the Acesines, and, descending down the banks of that river, to trace its progress and explore its windings. He likewise dispatched Craterus and Hephæstion on other expeditions, and, continuing the navigation for five days longer, arrived at the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines. The resistless impetuosity and terrific noise, with which these two great rivers rushed together in a

rocky and contracted channel, so astonished and intimidated the rowers, that they dropped their oars, and the vessels for a time became the sport of the agitated waters. Many of them were nearly absorbed in the vortex of the furious eddies that covered its whole surface; others were with the utmost difficulty prevented from striking against the rocks; many were dreadfully shattered by being borne violently against each other; and two, in particular, were dashed to pieces by this concussion; while nearly all the soldiers on board of them perished. The officers of the fleet had been forewarned of this danger, but the suddenness and magnitude of the alarm induced a momentary dread that suspended exertion. They soon, however, recovered from their astonishment, and, as nothing but the most vigorous efforts could now save them, every arm was extended with redoubled energy, and the ships were soon propelled beyond the confluence into a wider channel and smoother current. Alexander perceiving, on the right side of the river, a kind of bay sheltered by a rocky eminence protruding into the stream, immediately steered into it, and there refitted his shattered vessels. While these repairs were going on, he was by no means inactive. The obstinate opposition of the Malli had roused his resentment; and he was determined completely to bend the neck of that high-spirited people beneath the Macedonian yoke. The Oxydracæ also had again leagued with them to obstruct the progress of his army in the southern provinces, and he now meditated against both nations the severest vengeance. Before, however, he formed his grand attack upon these confederated people, he landed with a strong force, and penetrated to a considerable distance into the adjacent country, in order to overawe the inhabitants and prevent their sending any succours to his enemies. After widely ravaging that territory, the king returned to his fleet, where Craterus, Hephæstion, and Philip, had already arrived with the detachments they commanded.

Effectually to accomplish what he resolutely designed, Alexander having first ordered the forces under Philip, together with the elephants, to be transported across the Hydaspes, now made a fourfold division of his army. He commanded Hephæstion, with the first of those divisions, to proceed five days march before the others. Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, with the second, was ordered to follow, at the distance of three days march, in the rear. He sent Craterus and Philip towards the point of junction of the two rivers; and he himself, with the third and greatest body of the army, pressed on into the centre of the enemy's country, who, thus urged and surrounded from every quarter, must submit either to unconditional surrender or inevitable slaughter. The fleet, in the mean time, received orders to sail down the river to the confluence of the Acesines and Hydraotes, and there to await the arrival of these respective divisions.

Alexander himself, taking with him the auxiliary foot, the equestrian archers, and half of the auxiliary horse, immediately advanced rapidly, but silently, through a desert of considerable extent, into the very heart of the enemy's country; and, after marching the greater part of that night, the next morning arrived at the precincts of a fortified city of the Malli, near the shore of the Acesines, in which, for security, they had placed their wives and children; but, not conceiving that an enemy would march through that desert to attack them, were loitering unarmed in the adjacent fields, and were slaughtered in multitudes. The rest flocked for refuge to the city itself, and shut the gates upon their assailants. It was immediately invested by squadrons of horse; for, they had advanced with such celerity, that the infantry were yet at some distance behind. When at length they arrived, he did not employ them on this siege, but dispatched them, with Perdiccas at their head, and such horse as could be spared, to besiege another city in the neigh-

bourhood, into which great bodies of the Malli had fled, with positive orders to blockade it only, and not to storm the works till his arrival. He hoped by these vigorous measures to prevent the junction of any very formidable numbers in the field, and he took an effectual method to prevent any future opposition of those blockaded, by exterminating them without mercy, as their strong holds successively fell before the resistless energy of his own attacks. The ramparts of the first of these cities were carried without any very severe loss of time or men; but the enemy retiring into the castle, which was very lofty and difficult of access, for some time resisted their utmost efforts. Alexander, however, exerting his utmost activity and vigour to take it before the country around should be roused or the Oxydracæ come to their aid, it was, after an obstinate resistance, taken by storm, and its valiant defenders, about two thousand in number, put to the sword. With respect to the other city, commanded to be invested, Perdiccas, on his arrival there, found its walls dismantled, and the city itself entirely deserted by its inhabitants. The light cavalry were ordered to pursue the fugitives, and very many were slain in their precipitate retreat; but many also were preserved from destruction, by seeking shelter in the marshes and swamps, caused by the recent inundations, whither the horse dared not follow them. These cities are both without a name in any classical author, but their position Mr. Rennel determines to have been to the south, or south-east, of the part of the river from which he landed*.

After a few hours of necessary repose from such continued toil, Alexander, pursuing his plan of secrecy and dispatch in subjugating the Malli, when night approached, set off at the first watch, and, marching incessantly all that night, about the break of day reached

* Memoir, p. 97.

the southern bank of the Hydraotes, a considerable distance above the confluence. He immediately forded that river, now considerably fallen, with all the horse, in pursuit of a large body of Malli, who were just then discovered crossing it. Many of them were overtaken and slain, and some made prisoners; but by far the greater part reached in safety a town of that district, strongly fortified by nature and art. Alexander waited the arrival of his foot to invest it, and at last took it by assault. In this instance he relaxed in his sanguinary conduct towards the Malli, and spared the prisoners who had made but little resistance. But he displayed no similar clemency on taking a city hard by, almost wholly inhabited by Brachmans, against which he next planted his engines of attack for daring to give shelter to their brave countrymen, and perhaps animating them strenuously to defend their religion and liberty. The Brachmans, seeing their case hopeless, after an ancient custom of their nation, collected together their wives and children, and, setting fire to their houses and furniture, perished together with them in the consecrated flame of sacrifice to the gods of India*.

Unconditional surrender being the easy terms of life offered to the Malli by Alexander, their hardihood in persisting to resist impresses the mind with high ideas of the intrepidity of that ancient tribe of Indians, who, probably, in after-periods, travelling southward, conferred their name on the coast of *Malabar;* at least a considerable district of the peninsula at this day goes by the name of *Malleam.* Rather than submit to that disgrace, they every where fled to the desert, and buried themselves in the deep recesses of the forest. They were pursued, they were massacred by thousands; and Python and Demetrius, two resolute captains of horse, were dispatched with their troops to execute his vengeance. But all was ineffectual; the

* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 7.

spirit of the nation remained still unsubdued. At length, Alexander determined to march to their capital, in which, report informed him, the inhabitants of most of the smaller cities had taken refuge, and he hoped, by one decisive stroke, to end the contest. On approaching the walls, however, he found them dismantled, and the people retired beyond the Hydraotes, on whose steep banks they had drawn up their forces, to the amount of fifty thousand men, and seemed determined to contest the passage should he again attempt it. Alexander instantly plunged with his cavalry, exceedingly disproportionate in point of number, into the stream, while the Indians, astonished at his undaunted conduct, gradually and in good order retreated to some distance from the shore. The enemy, observing that the horse alone had crossed the stream, resolved to make an immediate attack upon him; but Alexander, seeing them drawn up with more than usual military skill, and in regular order of battle, and thinking it not prudent to come to close engagement without his infantry, contented himself with riding round them at a distance, while the equestrian archers galled them with their arrows. The choicest of the light-armed foot, and part of the phalanx, soon effected a passage; and the enemy now becoming diffident of their strength, fled to a fortified town that lay behind them, whither they were immediately pursued by Alexander, and closely besieged. That evening the remainder of the troops joined him; and, having reposed during the night, the whole, at day-break, made a furious attack on the walls, burst open the gates, and compelled the enemy to take refuge in the citadel. This circumstance, which occurs so often, may be elucidated, by observing, that the ancient cities of India are, for the most part, surrounded with walls of mud baked to a solid consistency by the intense beams of a sun, nearly vertical, while the fort, built of brick or stone, is the only defensible part; often highly so against a very superior enemy. The king, without a moment's

delay, gave orders that the walls should be scaled; and those orders not being put in execution with all the rapidity that marked his own ardent mind, he snatched a scaling-ladder out of the hand of a soldier, and, applying it himself to the wall, began first to mount the parapet, covering himself with his shield as he ascended. Peucestas, bearing the sacred shield of Pallas, mounted next on the same ladder. He was closely followed by Leonnatus and Abreas, an officer of such distinguished valour, that he received on that account, as well as for other essential services in former battles, a double stipend. Alexander had no sooner reached the summit of this battlement, than he began a dreadful contest with those who defended it, killing some with his sword, and driving others headlong down into the castle. The sight of the king thus conspicuously fighting, assisted only by the three brave warriors who had mounted the parapet with him, excited the utmost alarm for his safety in the minds of his soldiers; and the royal battalion of targeteers, climbing the ladders in haste to second him, with their weight broke them down, and thus the king, who was known by his brilliant armour and the terror of his aspect, was left exposed to a shower of arrows levelled at him by the archers stationed on all the adjoining battlements. Alexander, observing this, and knowing that he could not long retain this perilous situation, gallantly leaped down among the thickest of the enemy, resolving to conquer or perish. His example was instantly followed by his comrades in glory, and all four renewed the combat with desperate fury, especially the king, on whom the Indian general rushing sword in hand, was himself run through the body; and many others, who followed him, shared the same fate. Alexander, fixing himself against the wall, in that situation repelled every assault; and such was the fire that shot from his eyes, that nobody, at length, dared approach within the reach of his arm. The dauntless Abreas, while fighting for his sovereign with his usual

heroism, was struck through the temples with an arrow, and fell breathless at that sovereign's feet; at the same time another arrow, three feet in length, aimed from the same quarter, pierced through the breast-plate, and entered the body of Alexander. A vast effusion of blood ensued, which greatly alarmed his two remaining friends; the king, however, retained his equanimity, and valiantly defended himself against a host of foes who assailed him at a distance. At length his strength began to fail him through the great loss of blood; a dizziness came over his eyes; a chilly damp bedewed his limbs; and the conqueror of Asia fell prostrate upon his shield. Peucestas immediately covered his body on one side with the sacred shield of Pallas, and Leonnatus, with his own shield, guarded it on the other. Both were dreadfully wounded, but both forgot their own sufferings in those of their master. The Macedonians, without the castle, in the mean time, were not idle. Impatient to succour their prince, they supplied the want of scaling-ladders by large iron pins forcibly driven into the wall, which was of brick; and, by means of these, with mutual assistance and strenuous exertion, they, with great difficulty, ascended to the top. On observing the king prostrate and bleeding, they set up an outcry of horror, and, rushing down from the heights, formed themselves around his body into an impregnable rampart. Others, following them over the wall, attacked the terrified enemy with redoubled fury; and, at length, by the exertions of others, a gate between two towers being forced open, and a part of the wall thrown down, admitted the body of the army, who now inflicted a tremendous vengeance upon the inhabitants for the (supposed) murder of their prince. Every soul found in the city and citadel was put to death; and the acclamations of loyal grief were soon drowned amidst the more piercing cries of pregnant women and infant children, devoted to promiscuous slaughter. Of this nameless city Mr. Rennel, in his small map, has pointed out the

probable situation about ten miles above the conflux, and " some, what below the scite of Toulomba, a famous pass on the Rauvee between Lahore and Moultan*."

After this merciless slaughter of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city, the attention of the soldiers was anxiously turned to the safety and recovery of the king. They bore him on their shields to the camp, and the utmost solicitude was visible on every countenance. When arrived at his tent, the arrow, which proved to be a *bearded* one, was extracted with the greatest tenderness and skill by Critodemus, a physician of Coos; but, from that circumstance, it being necessary to make a wide incision, a new and far more considerable effusion of blood took place, with which he fainted away, and life seemed at the last gasp. The effusion, however, being expeditiously stopped, he gradually recovered, and recollected his surrounding friends. The whole of that day and the following night the army remained under arms round his tent, and never quitted their posts till they heard he was entirely out of danger. In the mean time tidings of this disaster had reached the camp at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines, where the fleet had arrived, and been met by Hephæstion with his division. These tidings were presently followed by a rumour of his death, which struck the whole camp with consternation and dismay, and was likely to be productive of the most fatal consequences. To prevent these, Alexander finding messengers and letters, contradicting the report, of no effect, and that a general insurrection would probably take place, ordered a vessel to be got ready to convey him, ill as he was, down the Hydraotes. On the poop of that vessel was hoisted aloft the dome of the royal pavilion, so as to be conspicuously seen by the whole army, and as, in descending, he passed along the crowded shore and the fleet,

* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 10, 11, and Rennel's Memoir, p. 98.

whose decks were covered with enraptured spectators, he condescendingly waved his hand to them, and smiled, while the high banks and the neighbouring woods resounded with the loudest acclamations of "Long live Alexander; health and prosperity to the conqueror of Asia!" When he was sufficiently recovered to mount his horse, these bursts of transport were repeated; and every one flocked impatiently round him; some eagerly embracing his knees and his feet, and others happy to touch even the garments of their beloved sovereign; bearing before him triumphal garlands, and strewing the way with the gaudy flowers that shoot up so luxuriantly after the rains in that delightful region of Asia. At the same time the officers besought him never more to expose himself to similar perils, but to remember, that the duties incumbent on the general and the private soldier are essentially different. Alexander is reported, by Arrian, to have been offended by the freedom of these admonitions; but it is impossible to conceive that he had a heart so depraved and callous to the noblest sensibilities of human nature.

The Malli, defeated in every engagement, and half exterminated, now began to think seriously of making their peace with an enemy, at once so vigorous in his attacks and so superior in the science of war. They, therefore, dispatched heralds to Alexander with offers of that unconditional submission which they had so long and so resolutely refused. The Oxydracæ, or people of Outch, also, finding their efforts to form a junction with their old allies frustrated by the rapid march of the king through that dreary desert, and, in short, that opposition to a power which swept the whole country before it would be utterly ineffectual, reluctantly submitted to their fate, and sent ambassadors to purchase peace with the surrender of those liberties which they so highly prized. Alexander, anxious to accomplish the greater objects to which war was only subservient, readily accepted the submission of both. The territories of the

former he added to the prefecture of Philip, charging him to keep over them a vigilant eye and a strong arm: of the Oxydracæ he demanded, by way of security for their future fidelity, no less than a thousand of their principal citizens at once to serve as hostages, and add to his triumphs, by being enrolled in his army. With these terms they complied, and with the thousand hostages required, gratuitously sent him, in proof of their sincerity, five hundred chariots of war, with their horses and drivers, completely equipped for action. With this mark of attention, Alexander was so well pleased that he returned the hostages, declaring, that a nation so generous could never be stained with the base crime of perfidy. While he continued at this place waiting the full restoration of his health, he enlarged his fleet by the addition of several vessels which he caused to be built; and, thinking the point of the confluence a proper position for erecting a city and fort, (a city for the purposes of *commerce* and a fort to overawe the turbulent nations around,) he added another Alexandria to the number of those already founded on Indian ground; but of this city no vestige remains.

At length, Craterus, with the forces and elephants, being again transported over the stream, Alexander embarked with seventeen hundred auxiliary, an equal number of light Macedonian, horse, and ten thousand foot; the other divisons of the army marching, as before, along the two opposite shores. He soon reached the point at which the Acesines, swollen with all the rivers of the Panjab, discharges itself into the main stream of the Sinde, and at this confluence he waited some time for Perdiccas, who had been engaged in reducing the neighbouring tribe of Abastani. While he remained here, he was visited by Oxyartes, the Bactrian, and father of Roxana, whom, in commission with Python, he constituted governor of all the country south of the confluence of the Acesines and Sinde, as far as the ocean; having already fixed on that conflu-

ence as the termination of the government of Philip. At this confluence, also, invited by the situation and induced by similar motives, he erected another Alexandria; and, leaving with Philip the Thracians and such other troops as could be best spared, for its defence, he proceeded down the river till he arrived at the territory of the Sogdi, (the Sabracæ of Curtius and Sodræ of Diodorus,) who seem to have submitted without any opposition. At this station, also, he built a city and fort, and constructed dock-yards, in which he both repaired his fleet and built additional vessels. Dr. Vincent has produced very forcible reasons for fixing the modern *Bhakor*, a circar of the ancient soobah of Multan, as the scite of the Sogdi*; and Mr. Rennel, in a corrected account of the Sinde navigation, has placed Bhakor in 27° 32′ north latitude†; with this difference, that he assigns the tract in question to the Musicani, to whose domains, after a short delay, the fleet descended.

The reigning sovereign of this people, one of the most powerful and wealthy in this region of India, had neglected to send either ambassadors to solicit, or presents to purchase, peace of Alexander, and had consequently incurred his extreme displeasure. The king, on arriving at his frontier, lost not a moment in disembarking a large portion of his army, and marched to his capital with intent to surprise him. The suddenness of the attack prevented all efforts of resistance on the part of Musicanus, and Alexander, on approaching his capital, was met by the Indian sovereign, at the head of a vast train of elephants, and accompanied with presents of immense value, which, with his whole kingdom, he submissively proffered as the price of pardon for the capital offence of not having previously prostrated himself before the conqueror of Asia. Alexander was easily prevailed upon, by his apparent frankness and generosity, to

* Voyage of Nearchus, p. 125. † Rennel's Memoir, p. 292.

grant that pardon: he entered and staid some time in his splendid capital, the beauty and magnificence of which he greatly admired; and then returned the government of it into his own hands. Before he left it, however, as it was his intention to establish a chain of forts along the whole descent of the Indus, to secure the future safe navigation of that river at once for commercial and political purposes, he erected there a strong citadel, in which, to prevent revolt or innovation during a projected excursion into certain of the neighbouring kingdoms not yet subjugated, he left Craterus with a powerful force. In pursuance of this project, the king marched, with all the remaining forces which he had embarked on board his navy, into the adjacent territory of the Oxycani, plainly recognized in the name and scite of the modern *Hajycan*, a circar or division of the province of Sindy. The sovereign, or rajah, as we should more properly call him, of that territory had been guilty of the same heinous crime with the king of the Musicani, in delaying to send ambassadors or presents to pacify the unprovoked invader of their country; and, before he could have time to retrieve the fatal error, Alexander, whose constant aim was to intimidate by the vigour and rapidity of his motions, carried by assault two of his principal cities, in one of which the unfortunate prince himself was found in arms, taken prisoner, and, as we hear nothing farther concerning him, probably fell the victim of his temerity. Of these cities, Alexander gave to his soldiers the unlimited plunder, securing to himself the elephants of the deceased prince. The terror of this example operated with the inhabitants of all the cities of that district to make that immediate submission, which could alone obtain safety to their persons and security to their property. The Oxycani, thus completely subjugated, he marched against Sambus, sovereign of the region of Sindomana, in which appellation we immediately recognize the province of Sindy, or that through which the river Sinde flows in the lower

part of its course*. On this point, however, a wide difference also subsists in the geographical decisions of Dr. Vincent and Major Rennel, with which I shall not interfere, but continue the narration principally according to the text of Arrian. Sambus was the sovereign of a mountainous tract of country situated near the territory of Musicanus, had previously submitted to Alexander, and been restored by him to his dominions; but, being at open hostility with Musicanus, on finding that prince honoured with the confidence and friendship of the conqueror, he dreaded this additional weight thrown into the scale of his authority, and had taken the precaution of flight. If, however, Sambus could bring into the field such a numerous army as is assigned to him in Curtius, there was no very urgent necessity for so rapid a retreat. According to that historian, Sindomana, the capital city of Sambus, was forcibly entered through a subterraneous passage which the Macedonian miners had carried quite into the heart of the town; and, in the invasion of that country, no less than eighty thousand people were slain, independent of multitudes of prisoners. Dreadful devastation is also stated to have been made among the troops of Alexander by the poisoned lances of these savage mountaineers, and, among other brave men, Ptolemy is said to have nearly perished the victim of the deadly venom. The account of Arrian, however, is widely different, who records, that, at Alexander's approach, the gates of that city were spontaneously thrown open, and that the friends and domestics of the absent prince came forth to meet him with magnificent presents and elephants; and that, on explaining the real motives of the flight of Sambus,—the dread of the increased power of his ancient enemy Musicanus,—the king was pacified†.

Hence Alexander is stated to have marched against another name-

* Rennel's Memoir, p. 99. † Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 16. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 8.

less city in the same province, inhabited principally by Brachmans, and these, on the precipitate flight of Sambus, had instigated the leading citizens, who had already submitted and been pardoned, to erect again the standard of rebellion. It was speedily retaken, and exemplary vengeance inflicted on the Brachmans who advised the measure. While the king was thus incessantly employed in subduing some nations and recovering others, intelligence was brought that Musicanus himself had taken advantage of his absence to break into open revolt. Alexander was enraged at this outrageous breach of faith, and immediately dispatched against him Python, the son of Agenor, with an adequate force for the reduction of his whole kingdom. This service he effectually accomplished, utterly destroying some of his cities, erecting castles in all the others, and, at the same time, leaving in them strong garrisons to prevent similar accidents in future. After a diligent search, Musicanus was also discovered, and brought in chains to Alexander, who ordered him to be carried back into his own territories, and there publicly crucified, together with those turbulent Brachmans, who, in this instance, not less than the former, had essentially contributed to the public disquiet. About this period, Mœris, the sovereign of Pattala, a noble island formed by the current of the river, arrived in the camp, and made a voluntary offer of his treasures and kingdom. Alexander received him with marks of great respect and kindness, restored to him the sceptre which he offered to surrender, and sent him back to his capital, with orders to provide every thing necessary for the entertainment of the fleet and army against their arrival in his territories.

Preparations were now made for continuing the navigation down the Indus; but, previously to the embarkation of the troops, Alexander dispatched Craterus, with a considerable body of horse and foot, as an escort to such of the auxiliary and Macedonian troops as were

invalids, and might probably sink under the difficulties of the more arduous march which he secretly intended to take through Gedrosia to Babylon. These were to advance by the way of Arachosia and Drangiana into Carmania, and thence to proceed to Macedon. To his charge he also entrusted the elephants; those elephants which he plainly perceived must perish in the dreary deserts of Gedrosia, which he was resolved to encounter with the least incumbrance possible. Another important object, too, as Dr. Vincent has judiciously observed, the king had in view in planning this expedition, viz. more accurately to "survey and explore the extensive provinces of his empire*." The preparations for the departure of the fleet being at length completed, Alexander, with that division of the army which had usually embarked with him, went on board; the other divisions marched, the greater, under Hephæstion, on the one side† of the Indus; the inferior, under Python, on the opposite bank: the latter had orders to colonize the cities newly erected on the coast with all the inhabitants that could be procured from the adjacent districts, and, having performed this service, to meet the king at Pattala. On the third day of his progress down the river, Alexander received the unwelcome intelligence that Mœris had assembled his Pattalans, and, with the whole body of them, had fled into the deserts, leaving all the towns deserted and the fields destitute of husbandmen. On this intelligence, the fleet proceeded with greater dispatch, and soon reached Pattala, discovered in the name

* Voyage of Nearchus, p. 137.

† Arrian does not specify on which bank Hephæstion marched; Dr. Vincent, in consequence of his prior hypothesis supported in reluctant opposition to Major Rennel, determines it to be the eastern bank; and yet, from the orders given to Python to collect the Indians for colonizing the garrisons, one would incline to think the eastern as the more populous, and properly the *Indian*, shore would be the one better adapted to the professed purpose of the march of the latter commander.

and nearly in the scite of the modern *Tatta*, the capital of the Delta, formed by the waters of the Indus. This tract, the gift of that great river, during the immense period which it has continued to roll, extends in length about one hundred and fifty miles along the sea-coast; and its greatest depth from the most prominent part of the base to its apex is one hundred and fifteen miles. The lower region of this Delta is throughout intersected by numerous creeks and rivers; towards the middle it is a desert of burning sands; and is every where totally destitute of trees. The upper parts of the Delta, however, are said to be well cultivated, and to yield abundance of rice.

On the arrival of the fleet at Pattala, the light infantry were first disembarked, and ordered to pursue the fugitives with the utmost celerity, and invite them, by every possible argument, to return to their habitations and the cultivation of their lands; promising them liberty unrestrained and property uninjured. On this many of them returned; but, when Hephæstion was shortly after dispatched to erect a fort in the city, and other detachments were sent into the country to dig wells and render the barren tract habitable, the perfidious Pattalans fell furiously upon them, and wounded and killed many: they were, however, finally defeated with great slaughter, and driven back to their deserts. Alexander, determined in his views in regard to Pattala, on receiving this intelligence, reinforced those detachments, and gave orders for the immediate construction of a spacious harbour and a naval arsenal, at the point at which the Indus divides itself into two great branches, and rolls in two impetuous currents into the ocean. He came also himself on shore, and in person assiduously superintended the carrying on of works of the highest importance to his future projects. After staying some time on shore, and taking an accurate survey of the country and the coast, Alexander re-embarked with the same number of forces as he

August.
Before Christ,
327.

had usually taken on board; and, being resolved to sail out of the mouth of the Indus into the ocean, he ordered Leonnatus, with a thousand horse and about eight thousand infantry, to march quite through the Delta, with a view more fully to explore it, and afterwards join the fleet on the opposite side. He then selected the stoutest and best sailing vessels of the fleet, and descended down the right channel; but, not being able to procure a native pilot, and a violent storm arising on the following day, from their ignorance of that channel, it received great damage, some vessels being dashed against each other, and others driven violently on the bank. A sheltering bay being fortunately found near at hand, the injury done the fleet was soon repaired, and Pattalan pilots being at length, though with great difficulty, obtained, owing to the terror their Grecian visitants inspired, the voyage was continued down to a point in the river where it expands two hundred stadia in breadth (twelve miles) near the mouth: and here a new and unexpected calamity befel them; a calamity that had nearly proved fatal to every hope of navigating the Indian Ocean. The tides at the mouth of the Indus are said to rise higher than in any part of the world: Alexander and his Greeks could not have been ignorant of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which they must have witnessed in the Mediterranean; but *there* it is gentle, gradual, and scarcely perceptible, to what it is on the shore of the vast Indian Ocean, and especially on the Bay of Cutch and the Guzzurat coast, where what is called the BORE comes rushing on with a sudden and impetuous influx, rising many feet above the surface of the sea, and bearing a most terrific appearance. The great obstructions, also, accumulated in the course of ages at the mouth of the Indus, and which at the present day are far more considerable than in Alexander's time, must have greatly contributed to the sudden swell of the waters; and these circumstances, well considered, effectually vindicate the Macedonians from the censures

of petulant criticism, when they are represented as in the highest degree astonished and alarmed at such an uncommon phenomenon. The violence of the bore was so great, aided by tempestuous gales from the ocean, as to overset some of the vessels and drive others on shore; which, on the retreat of the waters, were left a-ground. At the return of the tide, however, those that stuck in the mud were again elevated and floated off, while most of those that lay inclined on the sand were swept away or dashed to pieces by its fury. This second misfortune being repaired as well as circumstances would permit, Alexander dispatched two of the transports before the fleet, with orders to explore a certain island at the mouth of the river, which, he was informed, contained commodious harbours and abounded with fresh water; and, this intelligence being confirmed at their return, he commanded the fleet to anchor there, while he himself, with a few select vessels, sailed out of its mouth to a second island, which lay about two hundred stadia beyond the former, and, boldly launching out into the vast ocean itself, enjoyed the sublime gratification for which he had so long and so ardently panted, and for the attainment of which he had cheerfully borne so many toils. Here he sacrificed bulls to Neptune, imploring the protection of that deity for his future enterprizes on his domain, and threw the slaughtered animals into the sea. Then, in a transport of delight, he poured out libations from golden goblets, which, with all the other sacred vessels used in the oblation, he committed to the bosom of the deep; and, having thus successfully explored the southern extremity of Asia, he rejoined his fleet, which was now fully repaired, and returned triumphantly to Pattala.

On his arrival at Pattala, he found Python, with his forces, returned, after having effectually executed their commission. The harbour and arsenal were also in great forwardness, under the continued care

of Hephæstion, whom he now commanded to fortify them, and prepare for the reception of his whole fleet till the time of navigating the Persian Gulph should arrive. After issuing these orders, being determined to explore the other great branch of the Indus, and see if through it a more easy and secure passage to the ocean might not be found, he sailed down the eastern current, denominated *Nala-Sunkra*, in the modern geography of India, till he arrived at a vast lake formed by the river itself and other confluent waters near its mouth. Into a creek, or small bay, of this lake, the pilots were ordered to steer the long galleys, and land Leonnatus with the greater part of the forces, while the king himself, with some biremes and triremes, pressed forward with eagerness a second time to view the great Indian Ocean. He found this passage more commodious than the former, and, going on shore with a few battalions of horse, into the country of Sangania, which from Alexander's to Hamilton's time has been infamous for nourishing a brood of pirates, he proceeded for three days along the coast in search of some commodious bay for the security of his fleet from future storms, and employed his soldiers in digging wells as they advanced, in order to open an easier communication through the desert to Guzzurat*, and forward those commercial purposes, which, wheresoever he moved, his conduct proved he had deeply at heart. He then re-embarked, and, arriving at the part of the lake where Leonnatus had landed, the station appearing to his discriminating eye an important one, he ordered a dock-yard to be built, fixed a sufficient garrison there for its defence, and left them provisioned for

* Dr. Vincent, p. 155. Consult his subsequent judicious remarks on the grand political projects of Alexander; for, of all his various historians and biographers, Plutarch and himself have alone done full justice to his public character; though it would be absurd to deny that his private one was obscured by infinite defects.

four months. The fleet then steered back to Pattala, where he immediately commenced the preparations for his arduous, but not frantic, march through the Gedrosian deserts.

It was, we have seen, in May of the year 327 before Christ that Alexander passed the Hydaspes: towards the end of October following, he embarked at Nicæa on the Indus; he spent nine months in sailing down to Pattala, where, according to the most accurate computation of Dr. Vincent*, he arrived about the end of July or beginning of August in the following year. By the same authority, he passed a complete month in navigating the two branches of the Indus below Pattala, and, early in September of the same year, he set off on his return, by land, to Persia.

Although to mark the gradual progress of policy and war, by which a nation so remote, and comparatively in every respect so inferior, as the Greeks, became, however short their reign, the conquerors of India, it was necessary to take a very extended review of the previous transactions of that nation with the Persian sovereigns, the lords of Western India; yet that conquest having been achieved and the particulars largely detailed, there exists no necessity for any but the most concise and summary account of subsequent Grecian events till the death of the conqueror, and its consequence, the termination of their sovereignty. For, very bounded indeed was the authority of his successor, Seleucus, in that region, and the compact entered into by this monarch with Sandracotta (Chandragupta) put a final period to the Greek dominion beyond the Sinde. But the consideration of those matters must be left to some future historian who will exert on the subject the same unwearied industry, which, under a cloud of almost insurmountable difficulties, I have employed in investigating the dark and intricate mazes of its most early history.

* Voyage of Nearchus, p. 158.

May he commence the task under better auspices, and be provided with ampler materials than it has fallen to my lot to enjoy!

For the important purposes already intimated, viz. the permanent security of his eastern conquests and the firm establishment of a vigorous commerce on the Sinde, Alexander, having long determined to open a communication with India by the way of the Persian Gulph, continued Nearchus in his station of admiral of the fleet appointed to explore that coast, with orders to meet himself and the army in Mesopotamia. As the season was unfavourable for its immediate sailing, and the Etesian winds, or, to speak in language more intelligible to an English navigator of the Indian Seas, the *monsoon*, that blows regularly six months, during winter, from the north-east quarter, and six months, during summer, from the south-west, having not yet shifted, the king set out nearly a month before the departure of the fleet, in order to facilitate its progress by exploring the country inland, reducing the savage inhabitants, digging wells, and procuring such provisions as could be obtained in a sterile country for its refreshment. It is the circumstance of his having failed in fully accomplishing these purposes, from ignorance of the utter barrenness of the country, that has prevented the real views of Alexander in exploring maritime Gedrosia from being more distinctly visible, and has been the occasion of branding with the character of insane temerity an expedition founded in consummate wisdom, and persevered in with the kindest attention to the welfare of his comrades in peril and in glory.

The Oritæ, a hardy independent tribe, if not absolutely of Indian origin, yet using Indian customs and manners, who inhabited the mountainous tract near the river Arabis, and known to the moderns by the name of *Belootches*, were among those delinquent nations who had neither sent ambassadors to the Macedonian camp nor offers of surrender. Against these, as against all the other Indian

mountaineers, Alexander, meditating victory by surprise, led such a body of light-armed cavalry and infantry as appeared sufficient to compel their submission. The rest of the forces were left under the command of Hephæstion. At the approach of the king, the Oritæ dispersed on every side, and fled into the desert: but flight was not surrender; and Alexander, therefore, rapidly crossing the Arabis, a river remarkable for neither its width nor depth, marched all night through the desert, and in the morning found himself in the midst of a fertile and well-inhabited country. Here, permitting his infantry to take some repose, he divided his cavalry into small, but numerous, parties, and ordered them to scour the country in all directions; which was effectually done, vast multitudes of the natives being slain, and abundance of prisoners brought in. In this region was placed the principal town of the Oritæ, called Rambacia, to which, after having been joined by Hephæstion with the heavy armed troops, he directed his progress; and, finding the situation well adapted for purposes of defence and commerce, he committed to Hephæstion the charge of erecting a city on the spot, with a strong fort to protect it, which is supposed to be the Arian Alexandria; for, Gedrosia (as Pliny, confirming this fact, informs us) was only a portion of the larger province of Ariana.* While this undertaking was going on, Alexander, taking with him some selected cavalry, marched towards the frontiers of Gedrosia, where, in a certain narrow defile of the mountainous chain that intersects their country, the Gedrosians and the Oritæ had joined their forces with an apparent determination to defend it against the farther progress of the invading enemy. Notwithstanding, however, the decided advantage which their situation afforded them for that defence, on the near approach of the Macedonians, they abandoned the station they

* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 21. Pliny, lib. vii. cap. 9.

had taken, and, soon after, the latter of these confederated people, finding farther opposition hopeless, sent a deputation of their chiefs, offering the well-known price of peace with Alexander,—the unconditional surrender of themselves and their country. The terms were accepted, and those chiefs directed to collect their scattered inhabitants, and induce them to return to the deserted villages, under the positive assurances that obedience should secure them safety and protection. He appointed Apollophanes governor of the country of the Oritæ, and ordered Leonnatus, with a large division of the army, both horse and foot, to remain with him till the arrival of the fleet under Nearchus, for which he was directed to provide every possible accommodation; in short, to do what Alexander himself had personally intended to have done, had circumstances proved more auspicious, and had there not existed a necessity for entirely subjugating the turbulent savage tribes of Gedrosia. He was also directed to superintend the building of the new Alexandria, and invite the people of Arachosia and all the neighbouring districts northward to come and reside in it, under the protection of the Greeks.

Having thus left with those commanders his final instructions, with the remainder of the army he commenced that toilsome march through Gedrosia, on which some observations have already occurred, and with a few additional strictures on which this volume will terminate. As we have now wholly left Indian ground, and as the progress of the fleet to Mesopotamia has been so ably and minutely detailed by the author often cited above, a very summary narration of the principal events that befel the army and the fleet on their return can alone be inserted in these concluding pages. With whatever stigma of imprudence the preceding historians of Alexander have branded this march through Gedrosia, they all unite in affirming, that, amidst every dreadful accumulation of human

suffering experienced in a region wholly trackless and unexplored, from high drifted sands, scorching heat, corroding hunger, and ardent thirst, Alexander sustained the character of a great man and a consummate general, being ever the first to encounter difficulties and trample on danger; in labour indefatigable, by fatigue invincible; disdaining food while his troops were dying of hunger around him, and dashing from his parched lips the helmet of proffered water. Amidst the urgent perils of the army, he forgot not those of his fleet, and, on the presumption that they were arrived on the same desolate coast, made several strenuous efforts to succour them, by collecting grain where it could be found, and piercing the sands along the shore for water. But all his efforts proved ineffectual: the distresses of the army were too great to allow of any of the articles of life being spared for their comrades at sea; the seals fixed on the bags of corn, at best a scanty store, were burst open; and the wells, as soon as dug, emptied of all the water they contained; nor could Alexander punish a species of plunder too evidently dictated by the strong command of expiring nature. After struggling with famine and the pestilential winds of that burning clime during sixty days, with the loss of a third part of his army and nearly all the horses and camels, Alexander at length reached Pura, recognized in its ancient Arabian name of *Phoreg*, the capital of the Gedrosii, whither his fame and the terror of his arms had previously reached, and obtained from the princes and chiefs, who governed in the more fertile districts of that country, as abundant supplies as they could procure for his exhausted forces. About this time, intelligence arrived that Philip, whom, it has been observed, he had appointed governor of all the country north of the confluence of the Acesines with the Sinde, had been murdered in an insurrection of the mercenaries left with him to defend his station; but that the native Macedonians had revenged his death upon the assassins. The king,

on this, sent orders to Eudemus and Taxiles conjointly to administer the affairs of that province till he could send another governor, properly qualified, to succeed him in that important portion of his Indian conquests. He also dismissed Apollophanes for neglect of orders, probably relating to the march through Gedrosia, and possibly intended to facilitate it, from his lieutenancy over the Oritæ.

After halting some days at this capital, he proceeded towards Carmania, (Kerman,) a province which exhibited in its appearance a perfect contrast to that of Gedrosia; being rich in pasturage and abounding with fruits and grain of every kind. On the first intelligence of his arrival in this province, the governors of Aria and Drangiana, together with those of the more northern provinces, hastened to the relief of the army with the choicest productions of their respective prefectures. They were also accommodated with an immense number of horses, camels, and other beasts of burthen, to replace those that had perished in the deserts, and the army now pursued its progress towards Babylon with festive joy, but doubtless not with that frantic Bacchanalian spirit of intemperance imputed to them by Curtius, who gravely tells his readers, that a thousand brave barbarians, rushing upon them, might easily have put to death the whole of the Macedonian army; and even Plutarch, the professed apologist of Alexander, has deviated so far from that character as to suppose so great a general would sanction, by his authority and example, so absurd an inconsistency*. Solemn sacrifices offered to heaven for an army rescued from the jaws of famine, the customary athletic sports celebrated on those occasions of public thanksgiving by the Greeks, and possibly some more than usually splendid rites performed in honour of Dionysius Thriambos, or the Triumphant,

* Curtius, lib. ix. cap. ult. Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

and in memory of his Indian expedition, have probably been the foundation of this gross calumny on the memory of Alexander, which is expressly contradicted by Arrian, who, in diametrical opposition to all this licentious buffoonery, represents him, on his very entrance into this frontier-province of Persia, as assuming the stern aspect of a severe judge, punishing with death the extortions of certain tyrannical governors in the remoter provinces, and acting the part of a wise and beneficent prince, in redressing the grievances of his new subjects. Still, however, his anxious thoughts were incessantly turned towards Nearchus and the fleet; and, fortunately, about this period, an interesting incident took place which proved the means of acquainting him with its fate, and once more introducing Nearchus to his affectionate sovereign. But, before we relate it, it will be necessary to attend *generally*, for the reasons above specified, to the operations of that fleet, and of the army left on the coast of Gedrosia under the command of Leonnatus for its assistance and protection.

October. Before Christ, 326.

On the ceasing of the Etesian winds, or south-west monsoon, according to Arrian*, though he was mistaken in that supposition, or, according to Strabo's more correct account, on the evening rising of the Pleiades†, which is fixed, by Dr. Vincent and his learned astronomical friends, to have taken place on the 2d of October, A. C. 326, about a month after the departure of the king himself, Nearchus commenced his hazardous expedition to the Persian Gulph. As it was in the face of the monsoon, he was most probably compelled to do so, by the hostility of the natives, no longer awed by the presence of Alexander, and, sailing down the Indus to its mouth, after doubling the rocky promontory of Eirus, now Cape *Monze*, in a few days he arrived at an island near that mouth, called Bibacta,

* Arrian in Indicis, cap. 21.

† Strabonis Geograph. lib. xv. p. 721.

where, finding the wind exceedingly boisterous, and a spacious and commodious harbour upon it, he took the prudent resolution of remaining at that station till the entire ceasing of the adverse monsoon. The troops were, therefore, disembarked, a camp was immediately formed, and fortified with a wall of stone, by way of security against the attacks and depredations of the savage inhabitants. Nearchus was so pleased with this sheltered retreat from the tempestuous gales, that he honoured the haven with the distinguished title of the *Port of Alexander;* and the English editor of his Voyage has discovered its exact scite in the *Chilney* Isle of modern charts of the coast. However secure from the storm and the barbarous natives, the fleet was by no means so from the assaults of a more dreadful foe, FAMINE, and with difficulty supported life with the various species of shell-fish which they found scattered on the shore. To add to this calamity, they could obtain no water on the whole coast but what was brackish, and all this not only shews how little they were provided with stores for such a tedious voyage, but demonstrates that they must have been compelled to undertake it before they were fully prepared. After staying at Bibacta twenty-four days, the monsoon having at length become favourable, they continued their progress close along the shore till they arrived at the mouth of the river Arabis, a name still preserved in *Araba* and Cape *Arrubah* adjoining*. The Arabis is stated, by Arrian, to be distant from the Indus a thousand stadia, little more than sixty miles; and on this navigation near forty days had already been consumed. After a short stay at the Arabis, the fleet again sailed, and, soon after, the monsoon being yet wavering, owing to a violent and sudden change of the wind, two galleys and a transport foundered; but, the Greek vessels ever keeping close to the shore, the crews saved themselves by swimming to land. They were

* Voyage of Nearchus, p. 182.

now on the coast of the Oritæ, and had the happiness to meet with Leonnatus, bearing a seasonable supply of ten days provisions, which his vigilance had collected in that barren region. That officer, after the departure of Alexander, had been attacked by the barbarians and their allies, but had repulsed them with great slaughter. This fortunate congress with their countrymen, together with the supply, revived the spirits of the fleet. Such of the crews, however, as were dispirited or worn out with their past fatigues, were permitted to rejoin the army; and others, fresh and vigorous, were drafted from it, who cheerfully supplied their place on board the ships. Thus refreshed and recruited, the fleet continued its progress with little worthy of notice along the dreary Gedrosian coast to the next important station, Malana, (Cape *Moran,)* distant above sixteen hundred stadia, or about one hundred miles, from the Arabis. They next combated the horrors of a coast inhabited by none but savage Icthyophagi, (or fish-eaters,) and extending seven thousand four hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty miles, in a right line: a coast where they suffered every dreadful variety of human misery, from hunger, which they found nothing but fish and a scanty supply of meat, disgusting from its strong fishy flavour, to appease; and from thirst, which they could only slake with muddy or brackish water. They met, however, at Mosarna, on this coast, with one invaluable blessing, a Gedrosian pilot of good experience in these seas, whose skill and attention diminished the perils of the future voyage, as well as quickened its progress. The termination of this forlorn region and of their miseries they found at Badis, the *Cape Jask* of our maps, and they now with rapture began to coast along the beautiful and fertile shores of Carmania, where they found abundance of grain and fruits, and that still greater luxury, the purest water. At length the fleet arrived at the river Anamis, at the mouth of which stood a town, called by the Greeks Harmuzeia, synonymous with the modern

Ormus, which has since conferred its name on the whole Persian Gulph, and is justly deduced by our learned geographer from the radical word Hormuzd, or Oromasdes, the beneficent deity of the ancient Persians. At Harmuzeia the harrassed crews of the whole fleet exultingly went on shore, and reflected with pleasure on their final escape from so many and such urgent perils. A camp was formed on the spot, and strongly fortified with a rampart and ditch; the vessels were also hauled on shore, as well for security as that they might undergo such repairs as appeared necessary after their late tedious voyage.*

An idea was at this time forcibly impressed on the mind of Nearchus, that the army of Alexander was still in Carmania, and he determined to explore the interior of that province, and gain, if possible, some intelligence concerning the progress of the army and its distance from the shore. In the mean time, some more curious individuals of the fleet, happening to wander farther into the country than their comrades, by accident met a person clothed in a Grecian vest, and speaking fluently their native language. Their astonishment was extreme, mingled with inexpressible delight at meeting with an inhabitant of their own country on so distant a shore, and after such severe suffering. A variety of anxious questions was immediately addressed to the equally-surprised stranger, who confessed himself to be a Greek, and informed them that he had strayed down thither from the camp of Alexander, who, with his whole army, had some time before entered Carmania, and at that moment was at no great distance. He was immediately conducted to the admiral amidst the loudest acclamations of joy. On confirming to Nearchus the welcome tidings, and informing him that in five days he might reach the Macedonian camp, the delighted admiral

* Arriani Hist. Indic. cap. 33.

lost not a moment in preparing for his journey thither. Alexander, by the zeal of the Greek governor of the province, who hurried to him by the nearest roads, was speedily informed of the safe arrival of the fleet on the Carmanian coast and the approach of Nearchus; and detatchments, with carriages, for his accommodation, were sent out on every quarter; but these, not returning with the celerity his impatience expected, his mind was alternately agitated with the extremes of hope and despair; and the latter predominating, the prefect was ordered into confinement for being the bearer of false intelligence. In fact, so totally altered by their continued sufferings were the countenances of the Greek admiral and his comrades, their skin was so parched by the scorching sun and wind, the hair of their heads and beards was grown to such an enormous length, their whole bodies were so emaciated, and the vestments that covered them were so worn and tattered, that the messengers dispatched did not at first know them. Mutual inquiries however, making them acquainted with each other, the wearied travellers mounted the carriages sent for them, and were driven to the tent of Alexander. At a distance, that prince was so struck with horror at their squalid appearance, as immediately to conceive the idea that the fleet had been cast away on the Gedrosian coast, and that these were a part of the miserable remains of the shipwrecked crew. On their nearer approach, he soon recognized and eagerly ran to embrace Nearchus; and, on being assured by him of the safety of the fleet and army, no rapture could exceed Alexander's. The tears streamed from his eyes; he swore by the Greek and Lybian Jove, that the preservation of his fleet was an object dearer to his heart than the conquest of Asia; and that, had it been lost, the dominion of the whole earth could not have made him amends for it.*

* Arrian. Hist. Ind. cap. 34, 35.

The Carmanian governor was now liberated and amply rewarded; the most magnificent sacrifices were gratefully offered to Jupiter, Hercules, and other celestial deities, as well as to Neptune and the inferior gods who reign in the region of waters; splendid sports were exhibited, at which the king himself assisted, and joyfully led the triumphal train; and Nearchus, after being publicly crowned with chaplets of flowers, and having received the ardent thanks of his sovereign for his zeal and perseverance, was dispatched to the sea-shore, with orders to prosecute his voyage, and again to join his enraptured sovereign in the province of Susa.

On Alexander's first entrance into Carmania, he was joined by Craterus with the invalids and the elephants, whom, we before observed, he had dispatched westward from the Indus through the more practicable country of Arachosia and Drangiana. These, with the greater part of the army, the elephants, camels, and other beasts of burthen, were now ordered to proceed, under the command of Hephæstion, to Susa, by the way of the sea-coast, not only because that region of Carmania was the most favourable for a winter-march, but that they might be at hand to render every possible assistance to the fleet, and occasionally be assisted by them. The king himself, with a considerable body of light troops, infantry and cavalry, took the road to Pasargadæ, in Persia, to visit the tomb of Cyrus, which had been plundered of immense wealth, to punish the robbers, and settle the affairs of that province and Media. He then returned to meet the fleet at Susa, to the farther progress of which we must now return, though only to notice its transactions with the brevity proposed.

Nearchus, having but a slender guard with him, and the Carmanians not being wholly subdued, encountered some difficulties before he regained the part of the coast where his fleet lay; but having at length reached it, having also offered sacrifices to Jupiter Soter for

his preservation, and exhibited gymnastic exercises on the shore, he ordered the ships to be unmoored, and joyfully resumed the navigation of the Persian Gulph. The whole length of the voyage along the Carmanian coast from Badis, or *Cape Jask*, where it begins, to Katai, *(Keish,)* where it terminates, is stated by Arrian to be three thousand seven hundred stadia; the Carmanians are represented as living after the Persian manner, as using the same arms, and observing the same martial dicipline. They now entered on the navigation of the coast of Persis, the province properly so called, a navigation of four thousand four hundred, or, as amended by our British Strabo, five thousand eight hundred, stadia, amounting to three hundred and sixty-two English miles. The fatigue of this long voyage, however, was mitigated by a pause of one-and-twenty days at the mouth of the river Sitacus, (now *Sita-Reghian,)* down whose stream Alexander, ever vigilant for the preservation and comfort of his fleet, had contrived to send a large supply of corn from the interior parts of the province. At this station, too, they drew on shore, and repaired such vessels as had received injury along a coast, recorded by Arrian to be remarkably crowded with rocks and shallows. That coast however, terminated at the river Arosis, the modern *Endian*. The division of the coast of the Persian Gulph, along which the fleet bent its final course, was the maritime part of the province of Susiana; and this last was the shortest portion of the voyage, being stated by Arrian to extend from its eastern limit, the Arosis, to its western, the Pasitigris, no more than two thousand stadia, or one hundred and twenty-five miles. Every minute particular of this long and adventurous voyage, in those days of nautical inexperience, and on that perilous untried coast, is investigated in such a masterly manner by the author just referred to, that any more extended detail concerning it, than what is here given, would be an unpardonable intrusion on

his learned labours; and to those pages, therefore, the curious reader and geographical enquirer are referred. It is sufficient for me to add, that, sailing up the Pasitigris, through a rich and populous country, to a village situated about nine miles up that river, the fleet there cast anchor, and waited for intelligence of the army's approach. The interval was filled up with the celebration of sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for their protection during so hazardous a navigation, and with the festive games usual on such joyful occasions. That intelligence at length arriving, they again, for the last time, spread their sails, and proceeded triumphantly up the river to a bridge newly built over the stream, for the passage of the army. There they met with renovated transports of mutual joy; new sacrifices blazed to the gods; new games, of unparalleled magnificence, were instituted, at which Alexander solemnly placed, with his own hands, on the head of Nearchus, a crown of the purest gold, while before him were again borne triumphal garlands, and his path was once more strewed with the loveliest flowers that grow in the gardens of Asia*.

February. Before Christ, 325.

The subsequent events that took place, till the untimely period of the decease of Alexander, in less than two years after, are entirely unconnected with this history; and, were they not so, could not be detailed in it, for want of room. From this splendid scene, therefore, of festive triumph, of unbounded exultation for Asia subjugated and the Ocean explored, we must reluctantly turn the deploring eye to the dark chamber of death, and view this great prince, the conqueror of the East, in the full career of unrivalled glory, expiring at his palace in Babylon, the victim of continued and frantic intemperance, in the thirty-third year of his age, in the thirteenth of his

* Arriani Hist. Ind. cap. 42.

reign, and in July of the year before Christ three hundred and twenty-four. It is, indeed, a sudden and terrible reverse of fortune; and the fact itself of his premature death, as well as the circumstances that led to it, afford an apportunity for those awful reflections which will properly terminate the final page of a history, devoted, through its whole extent, to uphold the great cause of REVEALED RELIGION, and vindicate the proceedings of PROVIDENCE: a history, which, on that account, will not fail to give pleasure to the expiring moments of the Author himself, and atone, it is hoped, for a multitude of juvenile errors. July. Before Christ, 324.

Something more, however, has been promised, and will be expected, previously to be said, concerning the wonderful man, whose exploits in the field and whose wisdom in the council have so long and with such peculiar interest engaged our attention. Those remarks will be concise, and, as usual, chiefly point to his political character.

Plutarch, the most intelligent and philosophical of his ancient biographers, and the only one who seems to have entered into the plans of Alexander in all the extent of the projector, has informed us, that, when in his earliest youth, ambassadors arrived at Macedon from Persia, the prince discovered a profundity of observation and a political sagacity far beyond his years. Instead of indulging the inquiries of puerile curiosity concerning the splendor and magnificence of the Persian court, the numerous and superb palaces of Darius, the hanging gardens of Babylon, and other general topics of admiration in Asia, he was assiduous to learn the state of the public roads in the Higher Asia, the number and discipline of the troops which that monarch could bring into the field, and the peculiar station of the Persian monarch in the army when the line of battle was formed. Plutarch justly records this fact as a proof of the early maturity of his understanding and the extent of his designs. Let us

now observe Alexander in the vigorous prosecution of those designs, stopping after the battle of Issus in the full career of victory, and, with high *apparent impolicy*, giving Darius an opportunity to recover his severe loss, and arm all Asia against him, for the purpose of reducing the maritime regions of Syria, of exploring Egypt, navigating the Nile, and erecting Alexandria on the spot best adapted to effectuate his purposes. After the battle of Arbela, in the pursuit of Bessus, let us again observe him *unnecessarily*, as it should appear, traversing the Northern Asia in every direction, warring on the Sogdians, and advancing to the very deserts of Scythia, to make himself personally acquainted with the whole theatre of his glory, and realize his views. That this, and not a wild thirst of conquest, was the principle on which he acted, may be collected from his conduct, when in those regions, in regard to the European Scythians, who sent an embassy to request his alliance, and which I purposely omitted to notice in any particular manner, till this concluding retrospect on the life and exploits of Alexander. Arrian informs us, that, when the ambassadors returned home, he sent back with them a select band of his friends, apparently to do them honour, and as a mark of respect and friendship for their nation, but in reality "to explore the exact situation of their country, the extent of their population, whether the people were robust and warlike, their mode of fighting, and the arms used by them*." This circumstance is of a very impressive nature, and connects a mode of thinking and a plan of action at two very remote periods of life.

At every commanding point throughout the whole of this extensive march, he erects cities and fortresses, which he peoples with Greeks, and makes immense depôts of arms in regions remote as

* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 1.

Gaza and Candahar; on the banks of the Iaxartes and the shore of the Hydaspes; and constructs stupendous docks and havens at the mouth of the Nile and in the Gulph of Cambay. The part of his conduct more generally objected to by his accusers seems to be by no means the least praise-worthy;—his march through Gedrosia. That march, indeed, has afforded to some of his biographers an ample field for eloquent declamation, and to others an opportunity of unmerited censure. I have added my humble efforts to those of the Editor of the Voyage of Nearchus, to rescue so great a general from the charge of precipitation and temerity. The *preservation of his fleet*, and, in consequence, the *exploring of the country bordering on the coast of the Persian Gulph*, were the objects nearest his heart; for these much was to be dared, but *prudently* dared. If the sufferings of the army were *great*, *great* also was the stake and urgent the necessity. The event proved that Alexander had not formed a rash, though a bold, resolution; for, that event was prosperous; and, had he lived to have established his empire and completed the vast projects of his mind, there is no saying what unnumbered benefits might not have resulted from it, not only to Asia, but to the whole extent of the civilized world.

But the King of kings, who, from his higher throne, beholds, and, by his providence, regulates, the course of human events, in his eternal, but inscrutable, councils, had determined that Alexander should not accomplish the mighty designs his ambition had formed. One of these, which was to enlarge and beautify BABYLON, and make that interdicted city the emporium of the world, was resolved on in express opposition to a solemn decree which had gone forth against it three hundred years before; the tremendous anathema that Jehovah would make it an *habitation for the bittern and pools of water*, and that he *would sweep it with the besom of*

*destruction**. In vain, therefore, did the conqueror of land and sea attempt to repair the bank of the Euphrates, which, obedient to HIS voice, who first bade its waters roll, had burst its ancient mounds, and widely inundated the country. With equal probability of success he might have essayed to tear the centred sun from its orbit, or drain the bed of the ocean of the volume of its waters. By the divine fiat, and to promote its wonderful, but unfathomable, purposes, Alexander had already far exceeded the usual limits assigned to terrestrial power and human glory. He had also abused the exalted talents intrusted to him, by impiously arrogating divine honours both for himself and Hephæstion; by the grossest intemperance; and, amidst its excesses, by the foul murder of more than one friend! A conspicuous and terrible example of the divine displeasure, therefore, was in Alexander to be holden up to future conquerors and to distant ages. He had now finished the splendid but arduous task appointed him by the eternal decrees of Providence. The *spotted leopard*†, with rapid wings and ravening talons, or, as it has already been observed, he is elsewhere still more emphatically depicted, *the furious he-goat, from the west, with one horn*, (the DULCARNEIN of the Orientals‡,) who is represented by Daniel as bounding over the earth with such velocity as scarcely to touch its surface§, had finished his impetuous, his sanguinary career. The subverter, by the permission of heaven, of the second great empire of the world, is now to descend into the same grave

* Isaiah xiii. 20. † Dan. vii. 6. ‡ See page 591 preceding.

§ *And as I was considering, behold an he-goat came* FROM THE WEST, *on the face of the whole earth, and* TOUCHED NOT THE GROUND; *and the goat had a* NOTABLE HORN *between his eyes.*—Dan. viii. 5.

which held the vanquished Darius. The commissioned angel, that presided over a life pregnant with such important events; that, unknown to himself, guarded him at the Granicus; and spread over him, when prostrate among the Malli, a more powerful shield of protection than that of Pallas; was now commanded to elevate the destroying arm. At the banquet of Medias he presented to his lips the empoisoned chalice, and the infatuated victim drank it off to the very dregs.

END OF THE THIRD AND LAST VOLUME.

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